

Leslie S.B. MacCoull (1945-2015)

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Dr. Leslie S.B. MacCoull, papyrologist, Byzantinist, and historian, died at her home in Tempe, Arizona, on August 26 at age 70. MacCoull was born in New London, Connecticut, on August 7, 1945, attended St. Mary's School in Peekskill, New York, and received her A.B. in Classics from Vassar College in 1965, *summa cum laude*, as class salutatorian; she had been elected to Phi Beta Kappa in her junior year. She received an M.A. in Classics in 1966 from Yale University and a Ph.D. from the Catholic University of America in Semitics in 1973 with a dissertation on Coptic papyri in the Freer Gallery of Art. She was a gifted linguist, with a command of both ancient and modern languages.

After her doctorate, MacCoull served for three years at the Institute for Christian Oriental Research at the Catholic University before moving to Cairo, where she was first a fellow at the American Research Center in Egypt and then, from 1978 until 1984, director of studies and librarian at the Society for Coptic Archaeology and editor of its journal. In 1984 she returned to the United States, living in Washington, D.C., and carrying out various editorial work for Dumbarton Oaks, as well as continuing her research with fellowships from Dumbarton Oaks and the National Endowment for the Humanities. For the past twenty years she was an academic associate and editor for the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, using her command of languages on a wide variety of topics.

Her scholarly output was prodigious, amounting to more than 300 books, articles, and reviews. She is no doubt most famous for her work in bringing back to prominence the archive of Dioscorus, the landowning notary of the Egyptian village of Aphrodito, especially its forgotten Coptic components. Her book, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito* (1988) was revolutionary for its day, an influential paradigm-shifter, treating Dioscorus not as a failed poet but as a shining representative of his "coruscating" age. Nevertheless, her work extended well beyond Dioscorus to the entire culture of the Late Antique world – its religion, philosophy, and law. She contributed, for example, a cluster of noteworthy studies on the Alexandrian philosopher and theologian John Philoponus. Nearly fifty of her best-known articles, appearing first in a stunningly wide array of journals, are collected in *Coptic Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (1993) and *Documenting*

Christianity in Egypt, Sixth to Fourteenth Centuries (2011). She recently added to her publications a volume of Coptic legal documents in translation and with commentary (2009), and co-edited a long Greek tax account in the British Library from the sixth century (2011). Her many editions of Coptic documentary texts and her enthusiastic articles about the wider significance of this material provided inspiration to new generations of scholars and contributed to the growth of Coptic papyrology in the past few decades. Much of her work was devoted, in some way, to the broadening of the scholarly understanding of the Late Antique period to include Coptic textual sources. It was her abiding conviction that Egypt was an integral component of the Late Antique *Classical* world and its Coptic culture an organic offshoot of Egyptian Hellenism. Her reviews are noteworthy for their perspicacity, generosity, and collegial good cheer. She was a true embodiment of the *amicitia papyrologorum*.

MacCoull had a wide variety of cultural interests, ranging from early and classical music (she was an accomplished soprano; her idol was Maria Callas) to pop culture (Batman, Star Trek, Jim Morrison, and the Doors); allusions to these interests are sprinkled through her elegant prose. Her many friends treasured the witty communications they received from her. She was a generous and inspirational mentor to many younger scholars, as on-line testimonials after her death quickly showed. She was many people's most unforgettable character.

MacCoull was twice married in her youth, but the love of her life was Mirrit Boutros Ghali, to whom, even long after his death, she dedicated each and every one of her scholarly achievements. She is survived by her half-siblings Robert, Kit, Pat, and Nick Bailey and BJ Glanville and Darcy Kulesha.

(With contributions from Kent J. Rigsby and T.G. Wilfong)

A Hexameter Fragment in the Beinecke Library¹

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Abstract

A 3rd- or 4th-century papyrus fragment in the Yale Papyrus Collection, containing parts of seven hexameters written in a careful, if unadorned hand. The composition of unknown authorship and date mentions a song or singer, and possibly a mother lamenting her son, but its contents remain open to multiple interpretations. The fragment may have been part of a longer narrative or of a short *epicedium* for a child, perhaps like *P.Heid.* 1.188.

P.CtYBR inv. 4688

H x W = 7.6 x 4.4 cm

Provenance unknown

3rd or 4th century

A scrap of papyrus, probably of a roll, acquired in 1992 from Alan Edouard Samuel (University of Toronto).² The fragment contains remains of seven dactylic hexameters on the *recto*; the back is blank but for some staining. The bottom margin is preserved (at least 2.2 cm), the top margin is not. Although line end is visible, the fragment does not allow us to judge whether there was a following column. No accents or breathings are in evidence, nor is any punctuation. There may be a *diaeresis* on the putative *v* in line 3; if so, it is inorganic.³ Elision is marked in one place (l. 2, see also l. 3n), possibly by a second hand.

¹ I would like to thank the Yale Papyrus Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library for providing the digital images, and Dr. Dobbin-Bennett for her kind and efficient assistance. I would also like to thank Daniela Colomo, Marco Perale, and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable suggestions.

² The acquisition is “related” to acquisition 1965a, “purchased by Alan Edouard Samuel from a dealer across from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, early 1965 (sometime between December 1964 and Spring 1965), with funds donated by Edwin John Beinecke” (<http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/research/library-catalogs-databases/guide-yale-papyrus-collection#Acquisition>).

³ E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. (London 1987) 10.

Although the sample is small, the text looks to be of high quality, with no obvious mistakes.

The angular and unadorned script is quite regular, but the papyrus does not look like a luxury copy. It is a slowly written medium-sized bookhand slanting towards the right; letters are typically kept separate. The hand is not strictly bilinear, but there is no consistent contrast between square and round letters either: ρ extends below the line slightly, as does υ, while ο does not fill the line, and floats roughly in the middle; ι extends ever so slightly above and/or below the line. ε and c are angular, and the top portion of ε is reduced to a little diagonal. The ink seems brown rather than black, which suggests a date no earlier than the 2nd century and more likely 3rd or 4th.⁴ A similar, if less formal, hand can be found in *P.Flor.* 2.259, dated around 260; see also *PSI* 16.1591 (assigned 2nd or 3rd century), and for a parallel in brown ink see *P.Berol. inv.* 10558 + 10559 (assigned 4th century). Our papyrus is perhaps to be dated to the late 3rd or early 4th century.

Metrically, the fragment does not offer much to go on. In the one place that we can be certain, line 5, Hermann's bridge is not violated. At least two lines (3 and 4) have a spondee in the fourth foot, and line 6 probably did as well. In Hellenistic and especially in Imperial Greek epic the tendency is toward dactyls, avoiding spondees more than Homer, but our text is too fragmentary to establish the metrical make-up.⁵ The final potential piece of relevant metrical information is dependent on a tentative reading; see line 3n.

The language and the metre do not allow for any certainty about the date of composition. None of the hallmarks of late epic (e.g. high frequency of [compound] adjectives, multi-prefixed verbs) are in evidence, but on the other hand nothing forces us to regard the piece as Hellenistic or even earlier. The reading ὥπορ' in line 2 perhaps speaks against the later epic poets, who tend to write ὀπωρ- (*Opp. An. Hal.* 3.32; *Opp. Ap. Cyn.* 2.337; *Triph. Sack of Troy* 323 and 542; *QS* passim; but *Opp. An. Hal.* 5.470 has ὥπορε), otherwise the form is practically exclusive to Homer. Finally, the turns of phrase in the fragment are never paralleled in Nonnus.

As far as the content is concerned, line 2 suggests an embedded song. If the reading of line 3 is correct, the song may concern someone lamenting a son;

⁴ A. Bülow-Jacobsen, "Greek and Roman Writing Materials," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 3-29, ink discussed on p. 18; see also E. Delange, M. Grange, B. Kusko, and E. Menei, "Apparition de l'encre métallogalique en Égypte à partir de la collection de papyrus du Louvre," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 41 (1990) 213-217.

⁵ M.L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982) 154 (Hellenistic hexameter) and 177-178 (Imperial hexameter).

the participle in 7 may suggest that the subject is the mother. ἀκαχίζω is most typically used of grieving over someone's death, which may have happened in the parental house (c)φοῖσι δόμοισι, 4). Among mothers lamenting sons we may consider Thetis and Achilles or Eos and Memnon, both stories told in the Aethiopis, in which case θοροῦσα (line 7) may refer to the divine mothers' descent from heaven.⁶ Another possibility is the story of Ino and Melicertes, told in the Theban Cycle, in which Ino throws herself off a cliff (θοροῦσα) with her son Melicertes, after hearing of the death of her other child, Learchus.⁷ Similar subject matter comes up in Heitsch XXVI,⁸ and possibly *P.Heid.* 1.188, both hexameter compositions.

Since the hexameter was the most popular metrical form in the Hellenistic and Imperial period, employed by professional and amateur alike, there are many possibilities for the nature of our papyrus and the genre of the text fragment.⁹ It does not look like a school text, but the script is not of such quality as to exclude the possibility. Nothing suggests that it is an autograph, but there are no mistakes or corrections that prove it to be a copy. As for the genre, the subject matter would fit an *epicedium* written to commemorate the death of a child for example, as *P.Heid.* 1.188, with an embedded narrative of mourning. However, the fragment may also have been part of a narrative about one of the mourning mothers mentioned above.

Diplomatic Transcript

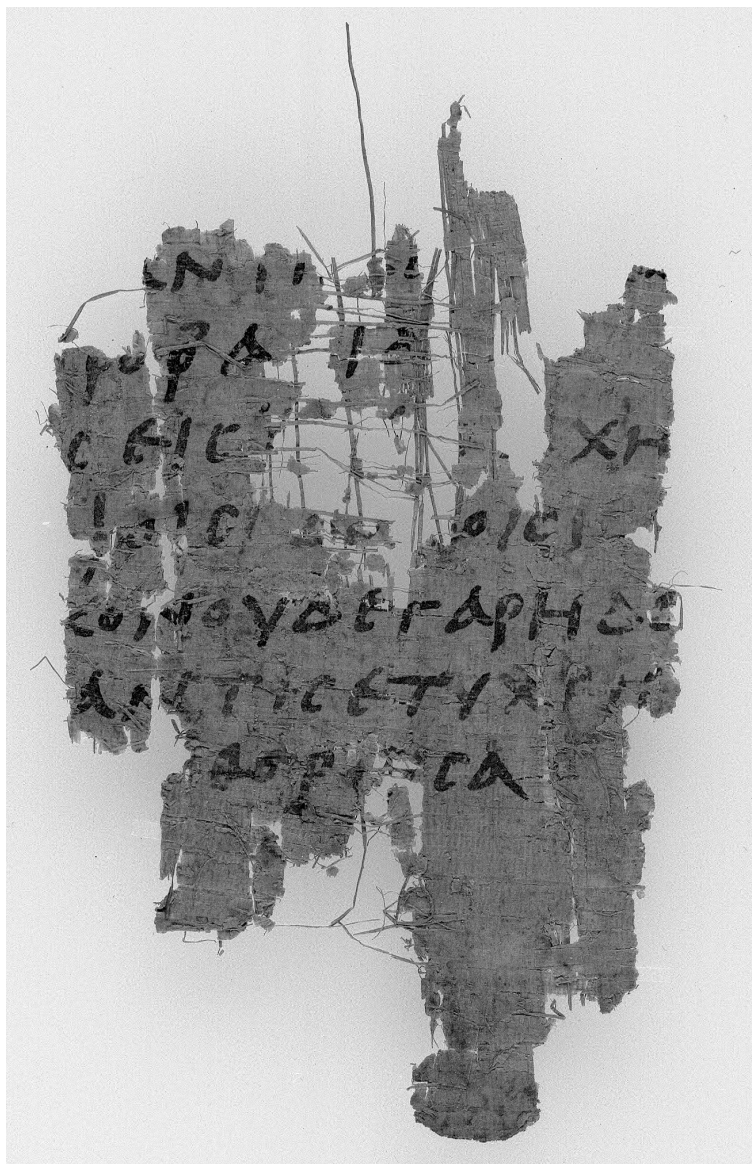
- 1] . ν [] α
- 2] . ρορ' α . ι δ . [
- 3] c ε ι c ὀ [.] . . . χ η [
- 4] φοι ci δ ο μ ο i ci [
- 5] κ ο ν ο u δ ε γ α ρ η δ ε [

⁶ See P. Michelakis, *Achilles in Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge 2002) 170-171; for Thetis mourning Achilles see: Procl. *Chrest.* 191-204, *Od.* 24.53-64 (cf. *Il.* 18.51-65); for Eos mourning Memnon see: Aesch. *fr.* 205f, Isocr. *Hel. Enc.* 52-53, Procl. *Chrest.* 185-190.

⁷ See Call. *fr.* 91-92 Pfeiffer, with notes in G.B. D'Alessio, *Callimaco. Aitia, Giambi e altri frammenti*, vol. 2 (Rome 2007⁴) 504-505. Daniela Colomo is currently editing a papyrus from the Leipzig collection containing scholia to Callimachus *Iambus* 11, which turns out also to concern the story of Ino and Melicertes.

⁸ E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 1 (Göttingen 1961) 86, no. XXVI, I recto (ed. C. Graves, "On two fragments of a Greek Papyrus," *Hermathena* 5 [1885] 237-257, with plates).

⁹ West (n. 5) 152: "Hexameters remain the usual medium of narrative, didactic, and oracular verse, besides being used for hymns, bucolic poetry, satire (...), laments, and other things."



2] ὥρορ' ἄ . ιδ . [: ὥρορε is strictly the reduplicated aorist active of ὄρνυμι, but in epic it can also replace ὄρωρε, the intransitive perfect, as in *Od.* 8.539 ἐξ οὗ δορπέομέν τε καὶ ὥρορε θεῖος ἀοιδός.

If intransitive, we may reconstruct ἀοιδό[ς “the singer has begun,” if transitive we expect ἀοιδό[ν “s/he urged the singer,” in either case ἀείδε[ιν cannot be excluded. We find the finite verb in the same sedes at *Od.* 19.201 ὥρορε δαίμων. Consider also this passage from the *Odyssey* (24.60-62), when the muses join Thetis in mourning Achilles: Μοῦσαι δ’ ἐννέα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπι καλῇ / θρήνεον· ἐνθα κεν οὐ τιν’ ἀδάκρυτόν γ’ ἐνόησας / Ἀργείων· τοῖον γὰρ ὑπόρορε Μοῦσα λίγεια.

If ἀείδε[ιν, “has urged/begun to sing,” cf. *Il.* 13.794 Ζεὺς ὥρπε μάχεσθαι and *Il.* 12.279 ὥρτο πέτεσθαι. The phrase recalls the typical ending of the first verse in some Homeric hymns: ἄρχομ’ ἀείδειν (e.g. *Hymn to Demeter* 1).

3]ς εἰς: Most likely a nominative plural, second person future verb, or εἰς.

– υἱ[ί’] ἀκάχη[:¹⁰ Possible articulations include ἀκάχη[-μαι (at line end in *Od.* 8.314 and 19.95) “I lament my son,” -σε(ν) (Opp. An. *Hal.* 4.46), -ται (*Od.* 23.360), or -σθαι (*Il.* 19.335 and QS 3.9 and 5.597). If we read any of these forms, the accent will fall on the final short of the fifth foot, “violating” a tendency in late epic hexameter of avoiding proparoxytones at verse end.¹¹ Another alternative is υἱ’ ἀκαχή[ς]; see QS 1.668 Κύπρις εὐστέφανος κρατεροῦ παράκοιτις Ἄρηος, / ὄφρα τι καὶ Πηλῆος ἀμύμονος υἱ’ ἀκαχή[ς]. One possible reconstruction is (οὐκ) ἐθελή[ς] εἰς υἱ’ ἀκαχή[σθαι, “you will (not) want to lament your son”; the sense would be “you will lose your son” or “you do not want to lose your son.” Compare *Il.* 24.550 οὐ γάρ τι πρήξεις ἀκαχήμενος υἱός ἔηος and Bernand and Bernand, *Colosse de Memnon*,¹² no. 101 εἴ γε μὲν οὖν Ἡὼς τὸν ἐὸν [φί]λῳν υἱὰ δακρύει.

4 Homeric σ]φοῖσι δομοῖσι is inevitable. The phrase occurs only in Homer, twice in the same repeated verse (*Il.* 14.202 and 303), not at line end. Outside of Homer, σφοῖσι(ν) only occurs in Hes. *Th.* 398, AR 1.909, and QS 1.785, but never in this place in the verse. δόμοισι(ν), conversely, occurs at verse end in all archaic, Hellenistic, and late epic authors, with the exception of Nonnus. A reconstruction like ἐν σ]φοῖσι δομοῖσι is suggested by the following parallels at line end: *Il.* 23.84 ἐν ὑμετέροισι δόμοισι, *Od.* 8.255 (among

¹⁰ If we take the trace after χ as a sign of elision, we may consider e.g. ἦδε (as in l. 5), ἦκε, or ἦ μὲν, but in that reading I have not managed to come to any plausible reconstruction of the preceding traces.

¹¹ West (n. 5) 180.

¹² A. Bernand and É. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon* (Paris 1960) 202-205.

others) ἐν ἡμετέροισι δόμοισι, and *Hymn to Hephaestus* 7 and Opp. An. *Hal.* 597 ἐνὶ σφετέροισι δόμοισι.

5]κον: It could be the end of a first person singular verb, which would suggest direct speech, or third person plural imperfect or aorist, e.g. τέκον.

– οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦδε[: A new clause starts after the bucolic caesura.

– ἦδε[: ἦδε or ἦδε[ι. If ἦδε, the pronoun may retrieve the object of the preceding sentence; i.e. “They [...] [her] in their own home. For she did not ...,” or it may point forward to a noun in the following line; compare *Il.* 6.100-101 ὃν πέρ φασι θεᾶς ἐξέμμεναι· ἀλλ’ ὅδε λῆν / μαίνεται, οὐδέ τις οἱ δύναται μένος ἰσοφαρίζειν, “... ; but overmuch does he / rage ...”; *Il.* 21.155-156 Παίονα· ἄνδρα· ἄγων δολιχεγχεᾶς· ἦδε δέ μοι νῦν / ἠὼς ἐνδεκάτη, ὅτε Ἴλιον εἰλήλουθα, “... ; and that was then for me / the eleventh dawn ...” Homer has οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτ- in this sedes twice (*Il.* 10.25, *Od.* 23.266), in the *Anthology* and *Appendix* οὐδὲ γὰρ occurs fourteen times in this sedes, never followed by ἦδε. For ἦδε in verse-final position, see Theogn. 1.698.

If ἦδε[ι, “for s/he did not know,” note that ἦδει is frequent in Classical prose, but in epic the spelling is more typically ἦδη (or εἶδη) than ἦδει. Cf. *Hymn to Aphrodite* 207-208 οὐδέ τι ἦδει / ὅππῃ οἱ φίλον υἱὸν ἀνῆρπασε θέσπις ἄελλα.¹³ The same construction occurs in QS 3.250, 4.100, 7.522, in all cases followed by an indirect interrogative adjective at the start of the next verse.

6]αν τις ετύχθη[:] ἄν τις or]αν τις ἐτύχθη[. For ἄν (or ἑάν, ἐπάν, κάν, ὅταν), see *Il.* 2.155 ἔνθά κεν Ἀργείοισιν ὑπέρμορα νόστος ἐτύχθη and *AR* 1.492 προτέρω δέ κε νεῖκος ἐτύχθη, in both cases followed by εἰ μή in the following line. Here it could mean “there would have been a ...,” with the noun that governs τις preceding ἄν in the lacuna. If -]αν is not (a variant of) ἄν, it is unlikely to represent the accusative ending of a feminine adjective; it would have to be an adverb like λίαν or μακράν.

– ἐτύχθη[: Because of the lack of context, ἐτύχθη[in direct speech cannot be excluded. It is hard to imagine what the construction might have been, however.

7]θοροῦσα: For (-)θοροῦσα at line end, see *Od.* 23.32 and *Anth. Gr.* 6.122.3. Consider also QS 1.396 ὥς δ’ ὀπόθ’ ἐρπύγηντος ἔσω κήποιο θοροῦσα (cf. 1.603 and 6.330). If it is a compound, metre allows only προ- or ἀμφι-, and perhaps we might have expected to see traces of the φ in the latter case. If it is the simple participle, it is worth noting that throughout epic the parti-

¹³ οὐδέ τι εἶδη Faulkner, reading the unaugmented form with initial digamma to avoid hiatus; cf. M.L. West, *Homerus, Ilias*, vol. 1 (1998) xxxiii; see, e.g., *Il.* 13.355.

ciple of θρώσκω is often preceded by -οιο, especially at verse-end. The putative pronoun in l. 5 and the participle here suggest a female subject for lines 5-7.

In Homer and Hesiod θρώσκω is typically used of jumping from a chariot, while in the Hymns it is also used to describe birth (*Hymn to Hermes* 20 μητρὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτων θόρε γνίων). It may be read in that manner here, in the meaning “sprung [from ...].” Apollonius Rhodius twice uses the verb to describe goddesses arriving from the Olympus: AR 4.641 (Hera) and 4.770 (Iris).

Letter about *pentarouroi machimoi* (and Another Ptolemaic Text)¹

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Abstract

Edition of an unpublished Ptolemaic papyrus from the Cairo Museum, a fragment of a letter of the third century BCE mentioning *pentarouroi machimoi*, rarely attested in the earliest Ptolemaic period, and likely belonging to a group of documents dealing with legal matters, mostly published in the Petrie papyri, and to the small dossier of Asklepiades, *oikonomos* of the Arsinoite nome. The edition of another, very small fragment, probably from the Zenon archive, follows.

P.Cair.Cat. 10282 (a+b)

Gurob?, 25 July-23 August 233 BCE

H x W = 9.6 x 23.1 cm (a);

5.7 x 25.3 cm (b)

P.Cair.Cat. 10282 consists of two papyrus fragments which probably belong to one document,² although it is not possible to estimate the number of missing lines in between. The text was written against the fibres (*transversa charta*) of a large and fairly damaged piece of medium-brown papyrus. Both fragments (a) and (b) are recovered from cartonnage. (a) shows traces of white and a top margin of 2.4 cm, and (b) may belong to the lower part of (a), preserving the bottom margin with greetings and date. The particular shape in which

¹ These two papyri were studied as part of the International Seminar on the Cairo Papyri, sponsored by the Association Internationale de Papyrologues (AIP), in cooperation with the Egyptian Museum, the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California, Berkeley (which digitized photographs originally taken several decades ago by the AIP's International Photographic Archive of Papyri), and the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University. Funding for the seminar was provided by the Tianaderrah Foundation and a private donor. I thank Rodney Ast, Roger Bagnall, Alia Hanafi, Todd Hickey, James Keenan, and Cornelia Römer for their help in the editing of the papyri. I also would like to thank Graham Claytor, the *BASP* editors, and the anonymous reader for helpful comments on early drafts.

² This possibility has been confirmed by the autoptical examination of the document (above all, colour and dimensions of both fragments are compatible with each other).

the papyrus was cut out suggests its use as a pectoral. It is interesting to mention some Petrie papyri reduced to a similar shape and written in a similar handwriting; they are more or less contemporary and contain documents of a legal character. Our new fragment could have belonged to that original dossier.³

The hand is a medium-sized cursive script typical of the second half of the third century BCE. It exhibits similarities with some hands of the Zenon archive and can be paralleled by *P.Petr.* 2.4 (1) (= *SB* 18.13881, 256 BCE), *P.Sorb.* 38 (= Seider, *Pal.Gr.*, no. 8, 224 BCE), and *SB* 24.16068 (*P.Cair.Cat.* 10322, 218/7 BCE?). All *omegas* show a single hoop, the rearing *nu* is consistent throughout, ligatured *alphas* are open at the top, with the result that *alpha* and *iota* or *omega* and *nu* are joined by a connecting stroke; *tau* exhibits occasionally an extra “hook” (e.g. τῶν in l. 1).

The text is part of a letter addressed to a certain Asklepiades and deals with (περὶ τῶν etc.) a detachment of native soldiers (*machimoi*) who had been assigned five-*arourai* holdings (*kleroi*) in the Memphite *nomos* and later moved to the Arsinoite nome.⁴ Fragment (b), if part of the same document, contains the end of the letter, preserving the closing formula and the date to a “year 14,” probably of Ptolemy III Euergetes, that is 234/3 BCE; the month Mesore corresponds to the period 25 July–23 August.

Although Asklepiades is a common Greek name (see, e.g., the many occurrences in the Zenon archive),⁵ it is possible to suggest the identification of this person with Asklepiades, *oikonomos* (i.e. the chief revenue official) of the Arsinoite nome towards the end of the third century BC (*ProsPtol* 1.1027)⁶, al-

³ A papyrus fragment cut out in the same shape has been recently published by Cornelia Römer (whom I thank very much for having provided me with the following references) as *P.Pintaudi* 17. It was certainly brought to London by Flinders Petrie, very likely (for its legal content) with the same group as *P.Petr.* 2.17 (2)–(4) = *P.Petr.* 3.22 (a) = *P.Lond.* 3.551 *descr.* (229–8 BCE) and *P.Petr.* 1.24 (1) = *P.Petr.* 3.52 (b)(1) = *P.Lond.* 3.499 (a) *descr.* (230 BCE; for dating see P.W. Pestman [ed.], *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*, vol. 1 [Leiden 1981] 259): cf. *P.Pintaudi* 17, discussion at p. 78. Another interesting fact is that the earliest *machimoi* holding five-*arourai kleroi* (as in our fragment) are attested in documents again from the Petrie collection (see below).

⁴ The Cairo papyrus was in fact mentioned by Grenfell and Hunt in *P.Tebt.* 1.5 (= *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53), note to l. 44, in connection with a text reading concerning *machimoi*: “at Cairo there is a fragmentary letter (Inv. no. 10282), dated in the 14th year of Euergetes or Philopator, about certain πεντάρουροι μάχμοι from the Memphite nome who had crossed over to the Fayûm.”

⁵ P.W. Pestman (ed.), *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*, vol. 2 (Leiden 1981) s.v.

⁶ To be identified also with *ProsPtol* 8.1027a: see *P.Mil.Congr.* XVIII, p. 42, and *PKöln* 8, p. 97, n. 5. For the duties of the *oikonomos* see *P.Tebt.* 3.1.703, with Introduction. English translation, general overview and further bibliography are provided in R.S.

readily known from a small group of official documents (mostly letters) written or received by him: *P.Hib.* 1.81-82 (239-237 BCE); *P.Köln* 8.341, 343-345 (232-230/29 BCE); *SB* 20.14699 (230 BCE); *SB* 18.13099 (= *P.Mil. Congr. XVIII*, p. 41, a petition addressed to him, without exact date);⁷ two still unpublished Princeton papyri;⁸ the *ostrakon* *SB* 10.10366, sent by Ἀσκληπιάδης (?) οἰκονόμος; likely *P.Lille* 1.9, a *hypomnema* sent Ἀσκληπιάδῃ οἰκ[ν]όμωι sometime in the third century BCE; and maybe also *P.Hamb.* 4.235-236, two official letters written to and by an Asklepiades, of unknown provenance and dated to either 260/1 or 223/2 BCE (of course, if they belonged to Asklepiades' papers, the latter date would be the most suitable one).⁹ Several of them come from cartonnage like our papyrus.

The most recent discussion of Ptolemaic *machimoi* (usually understood as native soldiers performing either military or police duties)¹⁰ is provided by

Bagnall and P. Derow (eds.), *The Hellenistic Period. Historical Sources in Translation* (Malden, Oxford, and Carlton 2004) 165-169, no. 103; see also A.E. Samuel, "The Judicial Competence of the Oikonomos in the Third Century B.C.," in *Atti dell'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia (Milano, 2-8 Settembre 1965)* (Milano 1966) 445, n. 1; A.E. Samuel, "P. Tebt. 703 and the Oikonomos," in *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra*, vol. 2 (Milano 1971) 451-460.

⁷ On the meaning of petitions addressed to the *oikonomos* see Samuel, "The Judicial Competence" (n. 6) 444-450.

⁸ They are mentioned and briefly described by R. Pintaudi, "Oxyrhyncha e Oxyrhynchites. P.Vat.Gr. 65: Lettera di Dionysodoros ad Asklepiades," *Tyche* 5 (1990) 102 (the article contains the edition of *SB* 20.14699).

⁹ On this small dossier see the introduction to *P.Köln* 8.341-345 (pp. 96-97). As regards Asklepiades, it is also worth reporting some papyri containing likely references to him: *SB* 1.4309.27 (third century BCE: Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ οἰκονόμῳ); *P.Tebt.* 3.1.772.4 (236 BCE: Ἀσκληπιάδῃ, cited along with the *antigrapheus* and the *strategos*, is "perhaps the oekonomus addressed in P. Lille 9" according to the note *ad loc.*); *P.Petr.* 3.61a (= *P.Petr.* 2.25a.4 = *P.Lond.* 3.558 *descr.*, 226 BCE, from Ptolemais Hormou?: παρ' Ἀσκληπιάδου οἰκονόμου τοῦ Ἀρσινόιτου). Probably the Asklepiades involved in the letters *P.Grenf.* 2.14a-c (from the Arsinoite nome, reign of Philadelphus or Euergetes I) was not the *oikonomos* since he seems to be living in Alexandria (see the commentary to the papyri); and above all he is not to be confused with the Asklepiades who, roughly in the same years, held the office of *basilikos trapezites* in the Herakleopolite nome (on the latter see *P.Grad.* 3-4; *P.Hib.* 1.67-69; *P.Yale* 1.47-49; the editors of *P.Hib.* 1.67 thought that he was the *oikonomos*, or his *antigrapheus*, but see R. Bogaert, "Liste géographique des banques et des banquiers de l'Égypte ptolémaïque," *ZPE* 120 [1998] 183).

¹⁰ See e.g. *P.Tebt.* 1, pp. 551-552; J. Lesquier, *Les institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (Paris 1911) 4-10; F. Lammert, "Machimoi," *RE* 14 (1928) 154-157; M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1941) 708-709; *P.Yale* 1.33, Introduction; K. Goudriaan, *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Amsterdam

Christelle Fischer-Bovet, who argues against the ethnic exclusivity of such a term and stresses their role in the army and also, especially in the third century BCE, as guards.¹¹ The practice of giving plots of land to the *machimoi* can be traced back to the third century as well;¹² those possessing five-*arourai kleroi* (called either *pentarouroi machimoi* or just *pentarouroi*)¹³ were distinguished by Peremans and Van't Dack, in *ProsPtol* 2, from the *heptarouroi machimoi*, assuming that the *pentarouroi* were members of the police, not of the regular army. However, the Menches documents from Kerkeosiris, later on, show both of them as infantry *machimoi*, as opposed to the cavalry *machimoi* holding 20- and 30-*aroura* plots.¹⁴ A full list of the attestations of *pentarouroi* is given at the end; it is interesting to note that the oldest documents come all from the Fayum, and in particular belong to the Petrie papyri found at Gurob.

The central issue of the document presented here appears to have been a collection of taxes (the verb *συντάσσω* occurs at least twice with this probable meaning) irregularly carried out by some *telonai*, who are to be arraigned before the court (l. 4). Likely the *machimoi*, in moving from the Memphite nome to the Arsinoite nome, incurred a fiscal problem. It is conceivable that they were forced to pay some taxes for the Arsinoite nome while having paid taxes already for the Memphite nome.¹⁵ The writer seems to forbid exacting such a payment from them.

Fr. a

1] Ἀσκληπιάδῃ χαίρειν· περὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Μεμφίτου (πενταρούρων)
μαχ[ίμων

1988) 121-125; J.K. Winnicki, "Das ptolemäische und das hellenistische Heerwesen," in L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci (eds.), *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba* (Bologna 1989) 227-230; J.F. Oates, "Axapes, a Basilikos Grammateus and the Machimoi," in *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists (Copenhagen, 23-29 August, 1992)* (Copenhagen 1994) 590; W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, vol. 2 (Cambridge 2006) 173.

¹¹ C. Fischer-Bovet, "Egyptian Warriors: The *Machimoi* of Herodotus and the Ptolemaic Army," *CQ* 63 (2013) 209-236; C. Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge 2014) 42 and 161-166.

¹² See Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society* (n. 11) 199-237.

¹³ On the equivalence between *pentarouroi* and *pentarouroi machimoi* see *P.Tebt.* 1.38, Introduction, and now Fischer-Bovet, "Egyptian Warriors" (n. 11) 221: "What mattered above all to the cleruchic administration was the number of *arourai* rather than the term *machimos*."

¹⁴ See Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society* (n. 11) 218. On the size of the plots see also Fischer-Bovet, "Egyptian Warriors" (n. 11) 226.

¹⁵ The later *P.Hamb.* 1.31 (second century CE) describes a situation in which a move from a *nomos* to another one caused fiscal problems.

3 The text refers to a group of *pentarouroi machimoi* who had moved (or had been transferred) from one *nomos* to another. A close parallel, which may explain the reason for the transfer, is provided by *P.Yale* 1.33 (= *P.Hib.* 1.44, 253 BCE), a letter in which an official delivers an order concerning the *machimoi* of a particular district, to be sent up under a captain, for unknown reasons (Δείνων Ἀριμούθῃ χαίρειν. ἐγράψαμέν σοι πρότερον περὶ τῶν μαχίμων | τῶν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ σὲ τόποις ὅπως ἀποσταλῶσιν μετὰ Βιθελμείνιος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καθότι γράφει Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ διοικητής ..., ll. 1-3; ὡς [ἄ]ν οὖν λάβῃς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πάντα π[ά]ρεργα | ποιησάμενος ἀπόστειλον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς μαχίμους ἥδη ..., ll. 5-6).¹⁶

The verb πράττεσθαι, with ὑπό following, must bear the middle meaning of “to be subject to exactions by ...” Thus after ὑπό we may expect the mention of tax collectors; a possible supplement is ὑπὸ τῶ[ν τελωνῶν] (see τελῶνας below); cf. *PSI* 4.384.5-6 (letter to Zenon): ἐγὼ δὲ περιπαῶμαι ὑπὸ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ εἰσπράσσομαι τὴν ἐγγύην. The *telonai* (tax-farmers) were concerned with collection of taxes, licensing and confiscation of goods and properties.¹⁷ For another complaint that the *telonai* unjustifiably and unlawfully extorted money see, e.g., *CPR* 28.11, a petition addressed in 191 BCE to the *dioketes* by some *naukleroi* who complain about the unjust demand of money by the *telonai*.¹⁸ Collection seems to have been irregularly carried out by the *telonai* of our papyrus (certainly with regards to the change of *nomos* discussed above), who are to be arraigned before the court, and who are expected to “affirm” something (φάσκω means “to claim, to allege”).

4 Likely ἔγραψας ἡμῖν or also εὐ ποιήσεις γράψας + infinitive: δικαιολογέομαι means “to plead one’s cause before the judge.” For the technical use of the verb see e.g. *P.Mert.* 2.59.9 (action before the *chrematistai*, 154 or 143 BCE): [πρὸ] τοῦ δικαιολογεῖσθαι ἔδωκαν ἡμῖν συγχώρησιν.

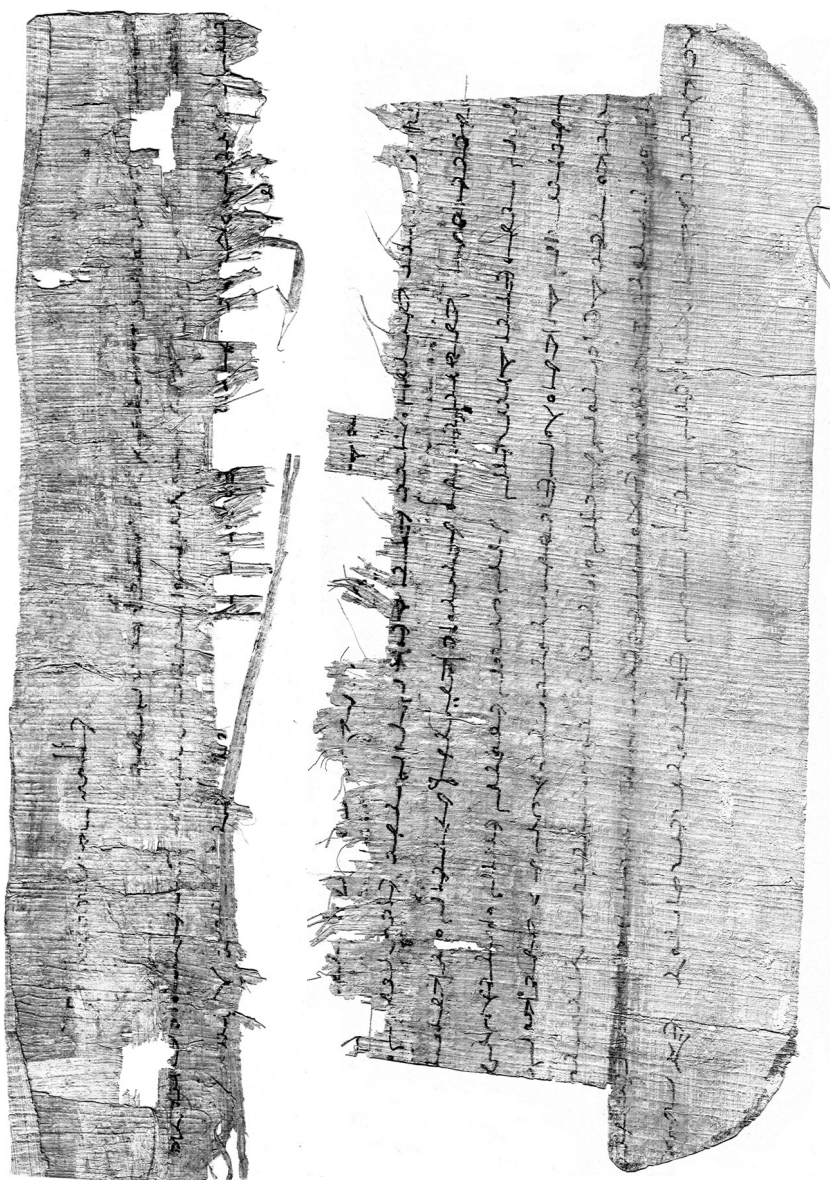
5 Possibly τὸν χρόνον? See *P.Petr.* 2.13(19).12 (ὅπως τ[οῦτό]ν γε | τὸν χρόνον παρεπιδημῇς; ca. 252 BCE).

(παρ)επιδημέω (see also l. 3) means “to stay in the same district” (cf. *P.Cair. Zen.* 4.59590.11). The compound seems to be used, much later, as a technical verb indicating a sort of “legal residence”: see, e.g., *PSI* 12.1248r (after 235 CE) or *Stud.Pal.* 5.23.8 (266-268 CE?; for a short discussion see *P.Hamb.* 1.31, introduction, p. 133, n. 1). There seems to be no reason for excluding the same meaning here.

¹⁶ See also J.L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (Philadelphia 1986) 25-26.

¹⁷ For the role of the *telonai* as officials responsible for gathering the dues in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Clarysse and Thompson (n. 10) 60.

¹⁸ Cf. C. Láda, “A New Greek Petition from Hellenistic Egypt?” *AAnt* 49 (2009) 375-382.



ἀγνώμων is a quite strong term recurring in petitions and private letters (see e.g., in the Zenon papyri, *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59362r.17; 4.59651r.14; *P.Col.* 4.121r.3). The writer clearly did not agree with the behaviour of the *telonai* (cf. also fr. b, l. 3 καλῶς οὖν ποιή(ε)ις συντάξας αὐτοῖς). For the use of ἀγνώμων in connection with *telonai* see *CPR* 28.11.15 (and commentary *ad loc.*, p. 185), a petition dealing with transportation of royal grain.

6-8 The circumstances of the case are not clear, because of the fragmentary condition of the papyrus. As already stated, it may be conjectured that an irregular tax collection was involved, as καταβολή is the “paying down” of a deposit. The verb καταβάλλειν (l. 6, cf. also καταβολῆς below) may have the technical sense of “to pay money (by way of caution),” while τάσσεσθαι (l. 6), or a compound (e.g. συν-, cf. l. 2 συντάσσ[and l. 11 συντάξας), could mean “to take a payment,” or “to rule, order.” In fact, καθήκει γάρ is expected to start a new sentence. At the line end, we could conjecture *exempli gratia* τ[οὺς κλήρου with reference to the plots of land and therefore perhaps, again, to the change of residence. In consideration of the context, the participle of ἐπιδείκνυμι could mean “point out, show that” (after it, εἰς οὐκ ἂν could be a possibility). For (οἱ) ἐπιδεικνύοντες as letter-bearers or order-bearers, see, e.g., *P.Tebt.* 1.26.8 (after 114 BCE) and *P.Rain.Cent.* 46.8 (early second century BCE).

7a Very faint traces, perhaps (if it is ink) of supralinear additions.

Fr. b 3 καλῶς οὖν ποιή(ε)ις συντάξας αὐτοῖς: for the attitude shown by this sentence see above, note to fr. a, l. 5.

Fragment of a Letter or of a Symbolon

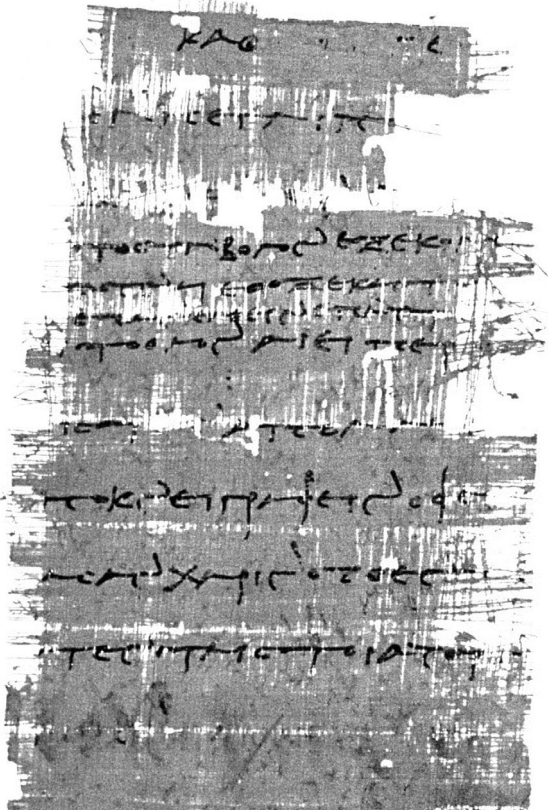
P.Cair.JdE 51605 H x W = 20 x 11 cm (mid?) III century BCE?

Fragmentary papyrus with a lower margin preserved to an extent of ca. cm 4.5. The typical third-century BCE script and a few elements of the context (lines 6-7) are coherent with documents from the Zenon archive. The text, though very scanty, contains some typical expressions that point to a letter giving instructions for something that is impossible to reconstruct. The only meaningful word surviving is σύμβολον (l. 4), which may allow us to think also of documents of this type, usually certificates or notifications or mere tax receipts connected with banks (cf. *O.Wilck.* 1, p. 638; *P.Fay.* 73, comm. to l. 1) and sometimes with *sitologoi* and tax-grain (see *P.Erasm.* 2, *passim*).¹⁹ However, perhaps more likely, a *symbolon* could have been simply the subject of the letter itself.

¹⁹ On this type of document see, in general, J. Herrmann, “‘Symbolon’ und ‘Antisymbolon’ in den Papyri,” in Id., *Kleine Schriften zur Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. G. Schieman (München 1990) 266-274.

-] καθ[...] ... ε ... [
] ε μὴ ἐγλιπ[εῖν
] γ . [
 4] τὸ σύμβολον ἐξεκομ[ιζε?
 4a] δουναι ἔδοξ' ἑκάστ[
 4b] ἐπαγγελθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτ[
 5] . τὸ ὅλον αἰεὶ περι . [
] εἰς τ[ὸ] γ' Ἀπολλω . [
 μ] ἢ ὅκνει γράφειν ὁφεί[λ-
 π] ἄσαν χάριν οὐ ὃ ἐντο[
] . τ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύτα[ις
 10 *traces*

2 *l.* ἐκλιπ[εῖν 5 αἰεὶ παρ.: *l.* αἰεὶ ?



1 For the clause ὡς καθήκει (“properly”) cf. *P.Erasm.* 2, p. 109.

2 “Not to leave (off).” For the alternation between κ and γ in Ptolemaic papyri see E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I. *Laut- und Wortlehre* (Berlin and Leipzig 1923) 169-170; F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I. *Phonology* (Milano 1976) 173, n. 1. This phenomenon is not unknown in the Zenon papyri: see, e.g., *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59352 and 5.59818.4.

4 The verb ἐκκομίζω means “to remove, carry, receive.”

4-5 Two interlinear lines are added between ll. 4 and 5.

4a E.g. “(he) thought to have ... to each.” One might read also ἔδοξε καςτ[-, but words beginning with καςτ- are not common in Ptolemaic papyri. Apart from the proper name Kastor, we have two misspellings for ἑκαςτ-, one featuring an ancient correction (*P.Cair.Zen.* 5.59847.45: <ἐ>κάστη<ν>; *P.Petr.* 2.4.8: \ε̃/καστον), and καςτεχήκαμεν for κατεςχήκαμεν in another Zenon papyrus (*SB* 22.15803.7).

6 E.g. εἰς τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου λόγον (see *P.Col.* 3.57.2; *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59647.2.12; *P.Lond.* 7.1964r.9).

7 “Do not hesitate to write” (see *P.Cair.Zen.* 5.59823r.9) followed by a form of ὀφείλω “to be guilty, to owe”: the two expressions may belong to different sentences.

8 ἐντο[λεύς, an otherwise obvious guess, is attested only in the late Roman period, from the fifth century on.

9 Poss. ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις χρεῖαις (see *P.Mich.* 1.28.28) “in such affairs.” Above this line, towards the right edge of the papyrus, there seem to be some small black spots, but it is very doubtful whether they belong to some interlinear addition, or are rather shadows (the same also above, between ll. 7 and 8).

10 Only some unreadable traces of ink are preserved at the beginning (and perhaps at the end) of this last line, which might have been deleted by the scribe.

Attestations of *pentarouroi*

Papyrus	Date BCE and provenance	Context
<i>P.Petr.</i> 3.100(b).ii.13 and 26	third cent., Arsinoite nome (found at Gurob)	Cultivation report mentioning <i>machimoi pentarouroi</i> , later in the same document called <i>pentarouroi</i> only.
<i>P.Petr.</i> 3.71r.i.16	248, Arsinoite nome (found at Gurob)	Land survey; one of the listed holders is a <i>pentarouros</i> .
<i>P.Petr.</i> 3.110(a)v.ii	246/5, Krokodilopolis or Ptolemais Hormou (Arsinoite nome; found at Gurob)	On the <i>verso</i> of tax accounts, “a column of Greek (26 lines), which is very difficult to read and is full of abbreviations; it refers to ε(ρροῦρων) μαχιμῶν.”
<i>CPR</i> 18.3.ii.50	231 or 206, Theogonis (Arsinoite nome)	Lease contract mentioning the toponym Ibion “of the <i>pentarouroi</i> .” ²¹
<i>CPR</i> 18.5.iii.98	231 or 206, Theogonis (Arsinoite nome)	Wine delivery document mentioning the toponym Ibion “of the <i>pentarouroi</i> .”
<i>SB</i> 3.6285.4 = <i>P.Grad.</i> 12	229/8, Herakleopolite nome?	Fragmentary document addressed to Kleitarchos the banker, mentioning a <i>pentarouros</i> .
<i>SB</i> 5.7631.6 and 30	227, Oxyrhynchite nome?	<i>Doppelurkunde</i> with reference to <i>pentarouroi</i> .

²¹ This may be the old name born by *Eikosipentarouron* before the battle of Raphia: see B. Kramer, *CPR* 18, pp. 103–106; Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society* (n. 11) 208.

Papyrus	Date BCE and provenance	Context
SB 22.15238r.i.7	late third-early second cent., Arsinoite nome	Account of men employed on irrigation works; among them, waters working in a 5- <i>arourai</i> field (ἐν τῷ πενταρῷ(ρῶ)). This is not a direct reference to <i>machimoi</i> but might point to this category.
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 3/2.854.i.14 and ii.33	after 173, Berenikis Thesmophorou (Arsinoite nome)	Account of tax receipts in kind; <i>pentarouroi</i> are recorded among other population categories.
<i>UPZ</i> 1.110.i.21 and vii.197 = <i>P.Par.</i> 63	164, Memphis?	Decrees of the <i>dioiketes</i> Herodes, referring to <i>heptarouroi</i> and <i>pentarouroi machimoi</i>
<i>BGU</i> 6.1216.A.iv.76	110?, Memphis or Aphroditopolis	Land survey; <i>pentarouroi</i> recorded as a plot-holding category along with <i>heptarouroi machimoi</i> (and other population groups).
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 1.83.i	late second cent., Magdola (Arsinoite nome)	Register of cleruchic land; the first two columns could have recorded <i>pentarouroi machimoi</i> , with the title lost at the beginning (see the edition).
<i>P.AdL.</i> 20.9	98, Poinkoris (Diopolite nome)	Sale of land mentioning a person (as the editors intend), or maybe a place, “of the <i>pentarouroi</i> ” (it is preceded by a lacuna).
<i>BGU</i> 8.1749.8 and 12 = <i>SB</i> 4.7412	63, Herakleopolite nome	Orders to pay wages to Theban <i>pentarouroi</i> settled in the Herakleopolite nome.
<i>BGU</i> 8.1750.5 = <i>SB</i> 4.7413	63, Herakleopolite nome	Order to pay wages to Theban <i>pentarouroi</i> settled in the Herakleopolite nome.

School and Documentary Texts from Kharga Oasis at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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Abstract

Edition of six assorted texts on *ostraka* and wood from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. They include a school text on a wood tablet and five documentary *ostraka*. Of the latter, one provides new evidence for the use of the *modius castrensis* in Egypt, another records payment to an official of Hermonthis (the *princeps*), another adds to the rather small number of orders for payment in oil written on *ostraka*, and yet another records purchases of bricks in large quantity.

The texts published here are part of a lot of objects in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Department of Medieval Art, whose staff I once again thank for granting me access to the material.¹ It is almost certain that the objects in this lot were found in the course of the expedition sponsored by the Museum in the Kharga Oasis, whose focus was the excavation of the pharaonic temple at Hibis.² The extant catalogue information tentatively suggests a find-spot in Kharga Oasis, but all that can be said with certainty is that the lot was in the storeroom of the Egyptian Art department in 1980, whence the material was transferred to the Medieval Art department in 2001. Text 2 probably mentions Kysis (a restored reading), and 3 shows parallels with

¹ In particular, Christine Brennan, Hannah Korn, and Thomas Vinton. I am also grateful to Todd Hickey, Sam Slattery, and Jim Keenan for advice on readings, as well as the editorial board and anonymous referees of *BASP* for further helpful comments. All photographs are credited to The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

² The Metropolitan Museum Egyptian Expedition was active in this area from 1909 to 1939 with various interruptions, and the results of work on the Hibis temple were published in H.E. Winlock, H.G. Evelyn-White, J.H. Oliver, and N.D. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis* (New York 1938-1951), 3 vols., esp. 1.v-vii for the chronology of the excavations; there is no mention of *ostraka* or tablets.

other texts from that site (*O.Douch*). Further evidence for this provenance is the decoration of the *ostrakon* 4, a sherd of an amphora, which is quite similar to that of another found at Kysis (see introduction). The *ostraka* 4 and 5 have a similar modern mark on the concave side, resembling the Greek *sampi*, which suggests that they were discovered and processed in the same expedition.

1. School Text

Both sides of this fragment of a wooden tablet are written along the grain, flipped over the long axis, in the same hand. The hand, a somewhat crude imitation of book script with cursive features, particularly in α, ε, and κ, may be dated to the third or fourth century AD with reference to *BGU* 4.1062 (Schubart, *PGB* #36, AD 236), *BGU* 4.1092 (Schubart, *PGB* #39), *P.Oxy.* 2.222 (Turner, *GMAW* #65, third century), and *PSI* 1.22 + 8.988 (Roberts, *GLH* #24a, late fourth century). One side (a) presents grammatical classification of nouns and adjectives, one of which is Homeric (ἀργυρόπεζα). On the other side (b) there is mention of “single combat,” probably referring to a passage in the *Iliad* (μονομαχίῃ, line 4). The use of a tablet, and the diligent, easily legible script, suggest an educational context.

A useful comparandum is *MP*³ 2712,³ a codex of eight wooden tablets strung together as a school book, dated by the first editor to the third century AD. Its contents include notes on usage of parts of speech, moods, and cases, and classification of nouns and adjectives (lines 281-317) with many Homeric examples, e.g. κύριον ὄνομα οἶον Ἀγαμέμνων Ἀλέξανδρος Μενέλαος Ἀχιλλεύς Διομήδης Ὀδυσσεὺς Σθενέ[λαος] (lines 281-282). The classes of ὀνόματα are, in full, κύριον, ἐρωτηματικόν, ἀοριστικόν, πατρωνυμικόν, κλητικόν, ὑποκοριστικόν, συγκριτικόν, ὑπερβολικόν, ἐπιθετικόν, προσηγορικόν, πῶς πρὸς τι ἔχον, ἀπολελυμένον, παρώνυμον, παραγωγὸν τὸ καὶ ῥηματικόν, ἐτοιμολογικόν, ἔθνικόν, ὁμοιωματικόν, πεποιημένον, περιλημπτικόν, συνώνυμον, and ὁμώνυμον; there is substantial, but not total, overlap with the *Ars grammatica* of Dionysius Thrax.⁴ This classification scheme is marked as a free-standing text within *MP*³ 2712 by a decorated title that appears at

³ British Library Add. Ms. 37533, ed. F.G. Kenyon, “Two Greek Tablets,” *JHS* 29 (1909) 29-40 with pl. VI; see also R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996), catalogue #385.

⁴ Dion. Thrax *Ars grammatica* ed. Uhlig 1.1.32-45; see A. Wouters, “The Grammatical Term ἀπολελυμένον in the School Book Brit.Mus.Add.MS. 37533 (=Pack² 2712),” *CdÉ* 68 (1993) 168-177. On the work of Dionysius and its broader genre see id. *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt. Contributions to the Study of the “Ars grammatica” in Antiquity* (Brussels 1979).

its close and quotes its first words (318-319, τέλος ἔχει τὸ “κύριον ὄνομα”). Three of these categories appear in our text on side a, though in the two cases where the word given as an example can be read, it is novel. *MP*³ 2712 offers no paraphrase of Homer such as is suggested by the remains of side b of the present text, but a different paraliterary prose text, a series of gnomic questions and their answers, does appear (e.g. τί ἡδὺ ἐν βίῳ ὃ χρη φεύγειν; γυνή, 289).

MMA acc. X.608.1

H x W = 2.3 x 8.0 cm

Kharga Oasis, III-IV AD

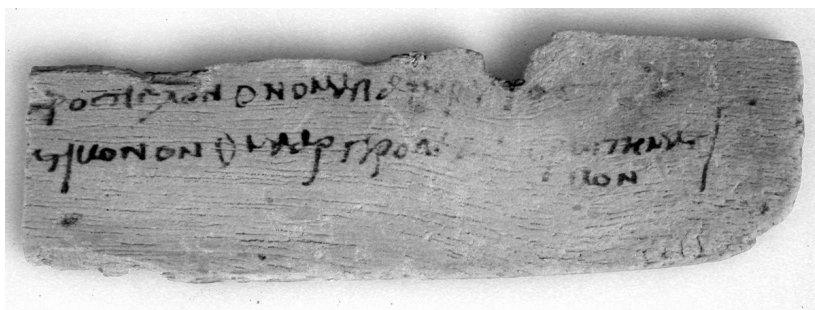
side a (\rightarrow)

[	]	πρὸς τι ἔχον ὄνομα πατριός,
[	ἐπιθ]	εἰτικὸν ὄνομα ἀργυρόπεζα, ἐρωτηματι-
ὄνομα	]	vac. κὸν

side b (\rightarrow)

5]ς *vac.* Φοῖνιξ *vac.* ἐν τῷ μονομαχίῳ
]ας
] Πάνδαρος

4 l. μονομαχεῖν



1 πρὸς τι ἔχον ὄνομα πατρυιός: “a relational word, stepfather.” Cf. *MP*³ 2712, lines 299-301, with various other terms for interpersonal relations, πῶς πρὸς τι ἔχον ὄνομα οἶον πατήρ υἱὸς ἀδελφὸς μήτηρ ἀδελφὴ συγγενὴς φίλος γαμβρὸς πενθερὸς θυγάτηρ γυνή; and an abbreviated version in Dion. Thrax *Ars grammatica* ed. Uhlig 1.1.35 πρὸς τι ἔχον δέ ἐστιν ὡς πατήρ υἱὸς δεξιός.

2 [ἐπιθ]ετικὸν ὄνομα ἀργυρόπεζα: “an adjective, silver-footed.” Cf. *MP*³ 2712, lines 295-297, ἐπιθετικὸν ὄνομα οἶον καλὸς λευκὸς εὐειδὴς εὐφυὴς δυσειδὴς (l. δυσειδής) φοξὸς ἄ{ν}δρος δειλός; Dion. Thrax *Ars grammatica* ed. Uhlig 1.1.34-35 ἐπίθετον δέ ἐστι τὸ ἐπὶ κυρίων ἢ προσηγορικῶν ὁμωνύμως τιθέμενον καὶ δηλοῦν ἔπαινον ἢ ψόγον. λαμβάνεται δὲ τριχῶς, ἀπὸ ψυχῆς, ἀπὸ σώματος, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτός· ἀπὸ μὲν ψυχῆς ὡς σώφρων ἀκόλαστος, ἀπὸ δὲ σώματος ὡς ταχὺς βραδύς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐκτός ὡς πλούσιος πένης.

2-3 ἐρωτηματικόν: the ι is elongated above and below the line, apparently to signal the unusual disposition of the continuation of the word on the next line. In view of the parallel in *MP*³ 2712, line 283, an example of an interrogative (there τίς, ποῖος, ποδαπός) must have followed in the lost left part of line 3.

4 ἐν τῷ μονομαχίῃ: unlike the names Φοῖνιξ and Πάνδαρος in its vicinity, the verb μονομαχέω is not Homeric, nor are the related μονόμαχος and μονομαχία. The latter is however used by later commentators to refer to an episode in the *Iliad*, the duel between Paris and Menelaos (Aristotle fr. 149 Rose ἐν τῇ μονομαχίᾳ), in which Pandaros, who appears below in line 6, also figures. The verb μονομαχέω might in a different context suggest gladiatorial combat. F. Kayser, “La gladiature en Égypte,” *RÉA* 102 (2000) 459-478, has collected and re-evaluated papyrological, epigraphic, and archeological sources to argue that such combat (μονομαχία), combined with beast-hunts (κυνηγησία), had a non-negligible presence in Roman Egypt. An announcement of games including gladiators can be safely excluded here, however, because of both the format and the nature of the text on side a, which is written in the same hand; compare the “circus programme” from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* 34.2707), and from outside Egypt the *invitationes ad munera* from third-century Thessalonike (*SEG* 49.815-818, with 56.748).

2. Receipt

A sherd of coarse red-brown ware with gray glaze, written on the convex side, broken at upper right. The text, for which I can find no close parallels, seems to be a receipt for a cash payment made by residents of Kysis, if the resto-

ration in 1 is correct, to the *princeps* of Hermonthis, apparently a local military commander. The office as such is known for Hermonthis (SB 20.15093), as well as Kysis and Mounesis;⁵ *principes* in other functions are discussed in *P.Oxy.* 55.3818.5-6n. For the purpose of the payment compare the account *P.Oxy.* 56.3874, which includes a gratuity for a *princeps*, ὑ(πὲρ) κομοδίου πρίνκιπος, in the amount of 353 talents and 2000 drachmas (56); and a payment of 51 talents recorded in the account-book *P.Erl.* 105 made to “the agent of the *princeps*” (τῷ τοῦ πρίνκιπος, 190).

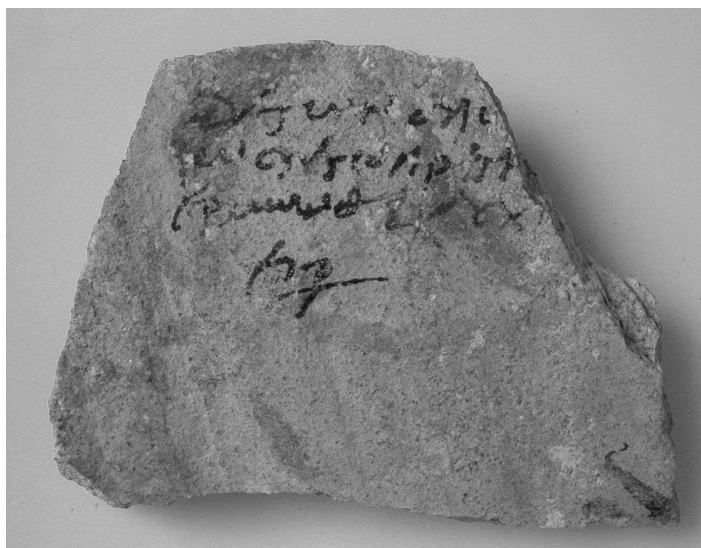
MMA acc. X.608.3

H x W = 7.0 x 9.1 cm

Kysis (?), IV-V AD

δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ [Κύσεως]
 ὥστε τῷ πρίγκ[ιπι]
 Ἑρμωνθ() (τάλαντα) Α (γίνεται) χί[λια].
 ἐρρ(ῶσθαι).

1 δ/ ost. 3 ἐρμωνθ/ ξ / ,α ost. 4 ἐρρ/ ost.



“(Paid) by the residents of Kysis (?), for the *princeps* of Hermonthis, 1,000 talents, total one thousand. Farewell.”

⁵ G. Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents grecs: recherches de papyrologie et d'épigraphie grecques* (Cairo 1987) 379-383.

1 For the opening with διὰ to express the payer, and omission of any verb of payment, cf. *O.Trim.* 1.205. The restoration [Κύσεως] fits the space, and the presence of military personnel from Hermonthis at Kysis is attested elsewhere; see Wagner (n. 5) 380-386.

2 For introduction of the beneficiary with ὥστε, cf. *O.Douch* 3.224 and *O.Trim.* 293.

2-3 Cf. *SB* 20.15093, from Kysis, an order for payment in wine issued by Βῆκικς πρίγκιψ Ἐρ(); the abbreviation unexpanded in *ed. pr.* (H. Choulirara-Raïos and G. Wagner, “Στάγμα,” *ZPE* 84 [1990] 69-74) but resolved as Ἐρ(μωνθιτῶν) in *SB*. The resolutions Ἐρμωνθ(ιτῶν) or Ἐρμώνθ(εως) are both possible here.

3 (τάλαντα) A: for the abbreviation see, e.g., *O.Douch* 1.54. For the specification of the amount in this format, first in cipher then in full, see text 5, line 4n. The thousand-marking stroke is a smaller version of that used in, e.g., *O.Douch* 1.19b and 54.

4 ἔρρ(ῶσθαι): cf. *O.Douch* 5.542.5. In both cases the resolution ἔρρ(ωσο) is also theoretically possible.

3. Order for Payment in Barley

A sherd of coarse light brown ware, complete. The first line has been indented to avoid an area of pitting in the surface of the sherd; the source of the black discoloration to the left, extending unevenly and in a lighter tone nearly to the beginning of this line, is unclear, but it does not appear to be ink. The text, on the convex side, is an order issued by an ὀπτίων, of a type with several parallels in *ostraka* from Kysis, e.g. *O.Douch* 1.43, 4.415, 5.578, 5.627. The amount is given with the *modius castrensis*, a measure which rarely appears in Egypt (see commentary on line 4).

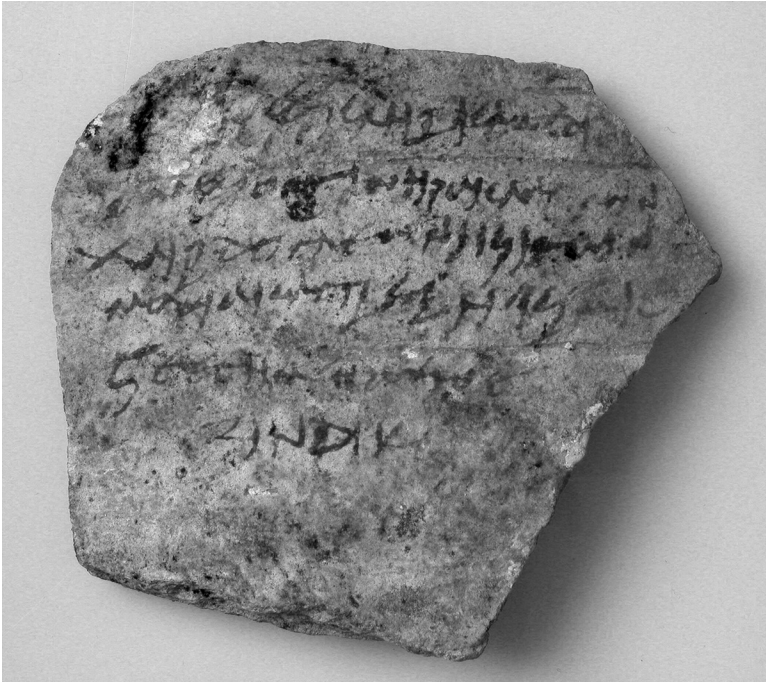
MMA acc. X.608.5

H x W = 7.4 x 8.1 cm

Kharga Oasis, IV-V AD

- Ἀσκληπι(ιάδης) Κλαυδι-
 ἀγοῦ ὀπτίω Ἡρακλάμμων
 χαίρ(ειν). δὲς Λέωνι κριθῶν
 μόδια καστρ(ήσια) ἑξ, γί(νεται) κρ(ιθῶν) μ(όδια) κ(αστρήσια)
 5 ς. σεσημ(είωμαι) ὁ αὐτὸς
 ζ ἰνδικ(τίωνος).

1 ασκληπ/ ost. 2 οπτ- corr. from οππ, l. ὀπτίων, l. Ἡρακλάμμωνι 3
 χαιρ/ ost. 4 καστρ/, γι/ κρ/ μ κ ost. 5 σεσημ/ ost. 6 ινδικ/ ost.



“Asklepiades son of Klaudianos, *optio*, to Heraklammon, greetings. Give to Leon six *modii castrenses* of barley, total 6 *modii castrenses*. I, the same, have signed, for the 7th indiction.”

1 Ἀσκληπ(ιάδης): the beginning of the name is much obliterated, but given what follows, particularly the abbreviation (for which see, e.g., *O.Bodl.* 2.2093.3, from Thebes), this reading seems the only possibility.

2 Ἡρακλάμμων: an official title might be expected following the name of the addressee, but cf. *O.Douch.* 1.43.

3 κριθῶν: on the use of the plural instead of the singular of κριθή in late ancient documents see W. Clarysse, “Artabas of Grain or Artabas of Grains?” *BASP* 51 (2014) 101-108.

4 μόδια καστρ(ήσια): cf. *O.Douch* 1.13.7 [μο]δίους καστρ(ησίους), with commentary, and *P.Cair.Isid.* 11.50 τοῦ μοδ(ίου) καστ(ρησίου); further R.P.

Duncan-Jones, “The size of the modius castrensis,” *ZPE* 21 (1976) 53-62; J. Jahn, “Zum Rauminhalt von Artabe und modius castrensis: Ein Diskussionsbeitrag,” *ZPE* 38 (1980) 223-228; P. Mayerson, “The Modius as a Grain Measure in Papyri from Egypt,” *BASP* 43 (2006) 101-106. For the neuter by-form of μόδιος see, e.g., *O.Douch* 1.43.3 with *BL* 9.383.

5 σεσημ(είωμαι) ὁ αὐτός; as well as can be determined, the signature is in the same hand as the main text. This signature formula is paralleled only in *O.Douch* 4.367.7, an order for payment in grain, and *O.Kell.* 77, where it appears on the back as an endorsement of a signature of a different form on the front. Variants with the addition of the first-person pronoun appear several times, σεσημ(είωμαι) ἐγὼ ὁ αὐτός in *O.Douch* 1.55.6 and 3.247.5-6, or with further specification of an agent (δι’ ἐμοῦ + name) in *O.Douch* 1.37.5-7 and 3.217.4-5; commoner with ὁ αὐτός is some repetition of the name or title of the signer: see, e.g., *O.Douch* 3.218.5-6 σεσημ(είωμαι) ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπιμελ(ητῆς) κάστρ(ων) Ἰβέως. The form ὁ αὐτὸς σεσημ(είωμαι) appears in various documents from the Oxyrhynchite from the third century onward, such as *P.Oxy.* 43.3107.11.

4. Order for Payment in Oil

Sherd of a painted amphora, complete but abraded, written on the convex side. The decoration consists of a red band above blue spirals, with traces of another row of spirals at the top. A similar spiral appears in *O.Douch* 4.415 (pl. X). The text offers a previously unattested name, Ptetos (l. 2n). Such orders for oil written on papyrus and parchment are common, but this is one of only a few instances on an *ostrakon*: see also *O.Douch* 1.3 and 5.525, *O.Stras.* 1.516, and *SB* 20.14694 and 14695.⁶

MMA acc. X.608.7

H x W 4.6 x 6.4 cm

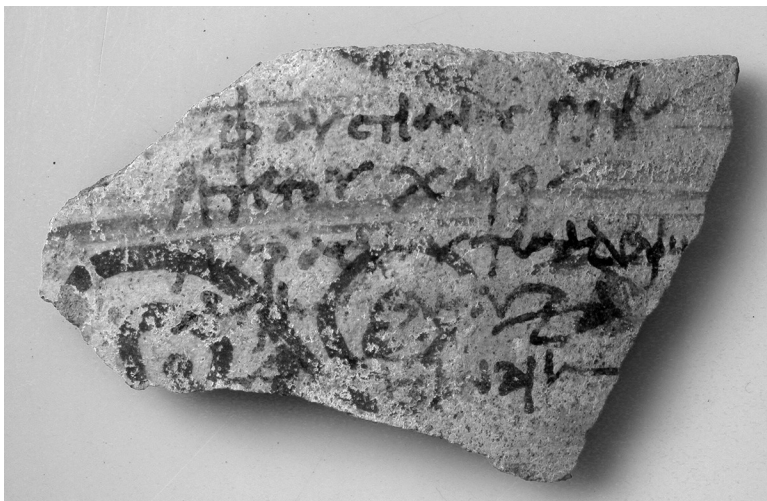
Kharga Oasis, IV-V AD

Φαυστιανὸς Πιβ()
Πτετου χαίρ(ειν).
παράσχου τῷ ἀδελφῷ

⁶ P. van Minnen and K.A. Worp, “A New Edition of Ostraka from Akoris,” *Tyche* 5 (1990) 95-99. For orders on papyrus, see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 68.4680; orders on parchment make up the great majority of the orders in the “Kyriakos archive,” on which see P.J. Sijpesteijn, “The Archive of Kyri(a)kos διάκονος καὶ ἐλαιοπράτης,” *ZPE* 77 (1989) 185-188.

Ἀπίωνι ἐλαίου ξ(έστην) α
 5 (γίνεται) εἰς ἡ ἰνδικ(τίωνος).

1 πιβ/ ost. 2 χαιρ/ ost. 4 l. ἐλαίου, ξ/ ost. 5 /, ἰνδικ- ost.



“Faustianos to Pib() son of Ptetos, greetings. Provide to brother Apion 1 sextarius of oil, total one, for the 8th indiction.”

1 Πιβ(): possibly to be expanded Πιβ(ει); cf. Φιβ(ει) in SB 8.9699.379 and 383 (*PLond.* 1.131 recto; Hermopolite).

2 Πτετου: perhaps a variant of the name Πτης, found in *O.Douch* 1.15.9.

4 ξ(έστην) α: the specification of the amount first in cipher, then in full, is less common; so too SB 20.14694 and 14965 cited in the introduction, and, e.g., *P.Münch.* 3.135, *P.Pintaudi* 40, SB 20.15002 and 15183, *CPR* 8.70, 10.2, and 10.5, and *Stud.Pal.* 8. 898-934, 938-945.

5 The reading is somewhat doubtful but supported by formulaic parallels, e.g. *O.Douch* 3.203.

5. Account of Bricks

Sherd of coarse light brown ware, nearly complete. The same hand is seen throughout, but each line likely represents writing on different occasions and perhaps with different pens. The text, written on the convex side, appears to

be an account of the purchase of bricks with six separate entries for the same month, totalling 6,850. In the absence of any specification of currency, it is more likely that the figures refer to the bricks themselves rather than their cost. The closest parallel then is SB 26.16702, a record of the receipt of 109,600 bricks without indication of cost, for building work on a hospice (ξένιον) in the sixth century.⁷

MMA acc. X.608.6 H x W = 11.6 x 10.7 cm Kharga Oasis, IV-V AD

Χωιάκ ἐν πλιθ(οις)
 ὁμοί(ως) *vac.* πλιθ(οι) υν
 ὁμοί(ως) πλιθ(οι) Αω
 ὁμοί(ως) πλιθ(οι) Βσ
 5 ὁμοί(ως) πλιθ(οι) χ
 ὁμοί(ως) πλιθ(οι) χ
 [ὁ]μοί(ως) πλιθ(οι) Ασ

1 χωιάκ ost., ω corr. from εν (?), *l.* Χοιάκ. πλιθ ost., *l.* πλίνθους 2-7 ὁμοι
 πλιθ ost. *l.* πλίνθοι 4 /βσ ost. 7 ,ασ ost.

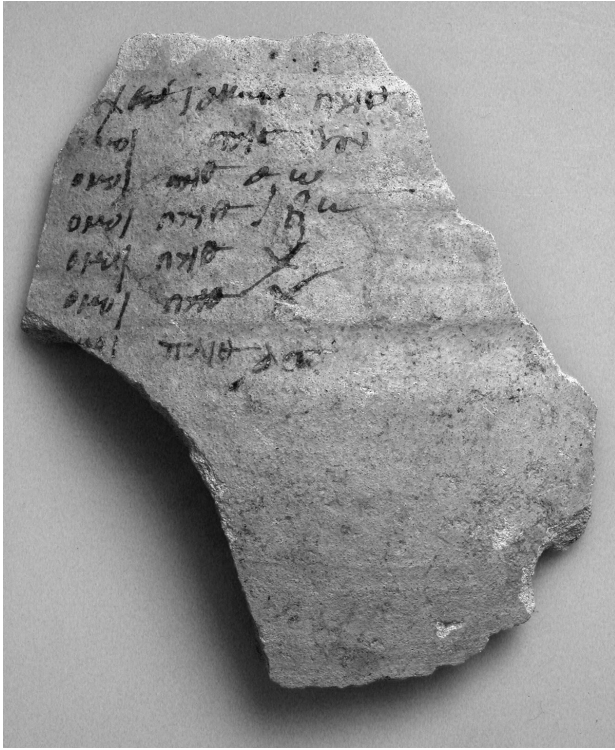
“Choiak, in bricks: *item*, 450 bricks; *item*, 1,800 bricks; *item*, 2,200 bricks; *item*, 600 bricks; *item*, 600 bricks; *item*, 1,200 bricks.”

1 Χωιάκ: the upper left terminal of χ is more flourished than in other instances in this text, but since the left edge is complete, this reading seems preferable to εχ- or σχ-, though a form of ἔχειν would yield good sense.

– ἐν πλιθ(οις): cf. *Stud.Pal.* 22.183.101 ἐν ἐλα[ίω χρηστ]ῷ [δα]πα-
 νῶντ[αι], where ἐν approximates to the sense “under the heading of.” In this
 and the following lines the crossbar of θ is extended to the right to mark the
 abbreviation.

2 ὁμοί(ως): apparently weakened in force essentially to *item*; cf. *O.Kellis*
 149. In this and the following lines the ι is extended downward slightly to mark
 the abbreviation.

⁷ On the manufacture and sale of bricks see the commentary of H. Harrauer to this text, “Abrechnung über Ziegel für ein Gästehaus in Peempibykis,” in P. Scherrer, H. Taeuber, and H. Thür (eds.), *Steine und Wege. Festschrift für Dieter Knibbe zum 65. Geburtstag* (Vienna 1999) 355-358; and further the introduction to the edition of P.Hamb. inv. 547, an order for payment to brickmakers, ed. D. Hagedorn and B. Kramer, *APF* 50 (2004) 163-166.



The *vacat* in this line was probably left to avoid an area of roughness on the surface of the *ostrakon*.

4 B̄: the diagonal stroke preceding the β could also be read as the abbreviation for γίεται, suggesting that this third entry records the total of the previous two (lines 2-3), and that likewise the sixth, in line 7 where the reading of the thousand-marker before α seems inevitable (cf., e.g., *O.Douch* 1.19b), records the total of the fourth and fifth (5-6). We would then be required, however, to assume an arithmetical error on the part of the writer in the present line in an operation which is not especially complex (the total should be 2,250). More troublingly, the identical introduction of each entry argues against such a running-total arrangement, and it is not clear why the count should be reset after the first total. The reading IB̄ as the numeral 12,200 would be possible in later Byzantine manuscript practice but I know of no parallels in the papyri, where a notation with μυριάς or an abbreviation thereof would be expected. On balance, therefore, I find the reading of the thousand-marker in the present line

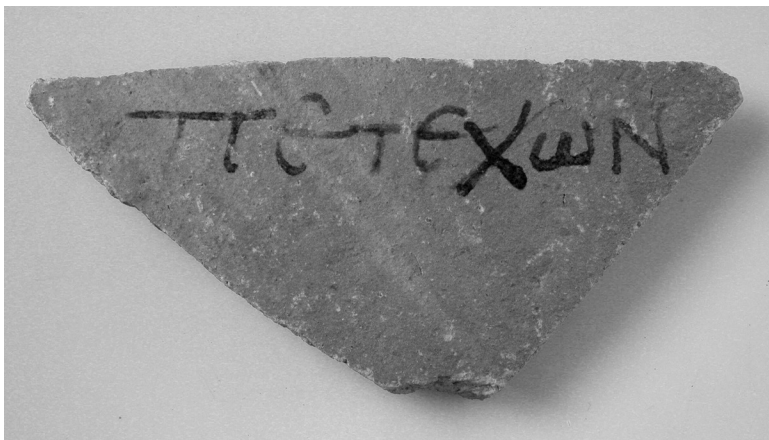
to be the most attractive, although its form is unusual as is its absence from the corresponding place in line 3. For the form cf. *P.Oxy.* 34.2728.22.

6. Note of a Name

MMA acc. X.608.8 H x W = 5.3 x 11.2 cm Kharga Oasis, III-IV AD

Triangular sherd of coarse brown ware written on the convex side, seemingly complete. A single name appears without patronymic, Petechon, which is so common as to be of no help in establishing date or provenance. The piece may be an ownership tag, one of the so-called “jar inscriptions” or “jar-dockets,” for which neither genitive of possession nor patronymic are obligatory (cf. *O.Kellis* 181, 183-184, 191, 195; *O.Tebt.Pad.* 70 with introduction). Incidentally, *O.Tebt.* 13 (descr.), which can be read Μαρεψήμις, as confirmed on the original, should probably also be placed in this category. Similarly to the present piece, it is written in large and deliberate but competent uncials. As the writing is in both cases centered on the sherd, and margins are left on all sides, it is preferable to identify each object as an applied tag rather than the fortuitous preservation of a notation written directly on a ceramic vessel that subsequently broke.⁸

Πετεχών.



⁸ See N. Litinas, *Tebtynis III: Vessels' Notations from Tebtynis* (Cairo 2008), esp. 8-9.

Papontos and the Hermaion *Amphodon* of Oxyrhynchus

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Abstract

Edition of a unique papyrus slip (P.CtYBR inv. 5087) mentioning Papontos and his responsibility/residence(?) in the Hermaion quarter in Oxyrhynchus.

P.CtYBR inv. 5087

12.8 x 7.7 cm

mid-III century CE
Oxyrhynchus

This intriguing papyrus was acquired by Yale University in 1997 from Gallery Nefer, Zurich. When and how this well-known dealer in antiquities (including the infamous Codex Tchacos) acquired the piece is unknown. It is written against the fibers (↓) on a rectangular sheet of papyrus that is complete; the back is blank. There are three lines of text, with four generous margins. Some insect holes and tears are present, along with tattered edges, save the upper edge, which is more or less straight. The sheet was folded three ways horizontally and at least three ways vertically.

The hand is a fluid, practiced cursive. Letters are frequently ligatured, bold, and upright. The descender of *rho* is looped in l. 2 but elongated vertically in all other instances. The *omega* and *sigma* of Παποντῶς in l. 2 are small, elevated, and written off the crossbar of the preceding *tau*. *Pi* is written in two and three strokes, with rounded and horizontal crossbars respectively (cf. Παποντῶς in l. 2). The oblique of *nu* connects high up the right hasta. The hand can be dated to the third century, based on several dated comparanda: *P.Oxy.* 31.2567 (253), *P.Oxy.* 74.4997 (254), *P.Oxy.* 34.2714 (256). The close graphic similarity of these hands suggests that these scribes had comparable training; it is possible that they also worked in the same office.

This little papyrus slip is interesting for the fact that almost nothing else like it is attested in the papyrological record. We find many papyri across genres in a similar format, i.e., small with only a few lines of text, such as mummy tickets (*CPR* 10.104), name tags (*P.Hamb.* 3.226, *P.Monts.Roca* 4.65), receipts (*P.Mich.* inv. 3448), and so on. Our papyrus, however, does not seem to fit in

any of these categories. The opening phrase probably provides our best clue: ἐπ' ἀμφόδου ("in the quarter"). The *amphoda* "were relatively small clusters of a few streets each, mostly named after local landmarks (especially sanctuaries), ethnic groups, and craft specialties."¹ They were used to locate persons and property in Egyptian cities that would have been difficult to navigate. In fact, the *amphodon* of Hermaion in our text was a well-known quarter in Oxyrhynchus, as demonstrated by the papyri.² It is difficult to know the absolute size of this *amphodon*, but we learn from *P.Oxy.* 40.2929 (26 May – 24 June 270) that 183 persons were eligible to receive the monthly dole of free wheat (Ἐρμαίου ἀνδ(ρε)ς ρηγ). This "dole" was modeled on Roman examples and was a kind of bonus for citizens.³ There are applications to receive this monthly dole, such as *P.Oxy.* 40.2892 (ca. 269-270), which indicates in which *amphodon* each applicant is registered. So, Papontos may have lived in this quarter of Oxyrhynchus. But why is this information given on our papyrus?

The opening phrase ἐπ' ἀμφόδου, which is ubiquitous in the papyri, generally points to the genre of registration. Amphodal registers were probably also used by tax collectors who went out to collect taxes from the taxpayers.⁴ What is very odd, however, is the complete lack of context, such as a reference to the registration (ἀπογραφή), a household, land ownership, date, age of the declarant, address to an official, etc.; among the many examples of registration, see *BGU* 1.95, *P.Col.* 8.231, *P.Oslo* 2.25, *P.Oxy.* 2.241, *P.Oxy.* 74.4989. So, if our papyrus is connected with metropolitan registration in one way or another, if only marginally, we should probably view our papyrus not as an official document in and of itself. Instead, it must be seen as a kind of extract from official records documenting Papontos' civil status, namely, he was registered in the Hermaion quarter.

The key question for us here is: for what purpose was this papyrus slip created? Our papyrus does not tell us, nor does any other papyrus for that

¹ R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 51.

² For a list of *amphoda* in Oxyrhynchus, see S. Daris, "I quartieri di Ossirinco: materiali e note," *ZPE* 132 (2000) 211-221, at 215-16; R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London and New York 2002), 137; K. Worp, "Town Quarters in Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Early Arab Egypt," in *Papyrology and the History of Early Islamic Egypt*, ed. P.M. Sijpesteijn and L. Sundelin (Leiden 2004) 227-248, at 231-233. For a general discussion of topological features of Oxyrhynchus, see J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit: Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption* (Frankfurt am Main 1990).

³ P.J. Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish: Greek Lives in Roman Egypt* (London 2007) 107.

⁴ Alston (n. 2) 144.

matter. Was it a kind of identification card? If so, what social occasion would have required a papyrus slip like this? Can we imagine certain (exclusive?) social functions that would have required identification or some proof of registration?

One possible scenario is that Papontos was required to show some kind of additional proof of metropolitan citizenship for the monthly distribution of one artaba of free wheat (see above). But this conjecture runs into many problems once we realize that the required documentation had to be official. In other words, we expect minimally a fuller formula and a subscription. Our papyrus lacks all of these features, which means that the slip could not have been official proof of anything.

The opening formula suggests that the papyrus was not meant to be kept secret; it was needed for something. But for what? The *amphodon* of Hermaion seems to play the most important role in this text. I suggest that this papyrus may have served as instructions for *where* Papontos was to carry out some task. In support of this hypothesis, we may point to a very similar papyrus in *P.Petaus* 50: ἐπὶ τῇς καλᾶμης τοῦ χώματος | Ὅρσεν[ο]ῦφίς Παθύνεως | Κέλσῃτ ἀδελφὸς μη[τ]ρὸς Σουμή[ι]τος.⁵ In this papyrus, Ὅρσεν[ο]ῦφίς is responsible for the procurement of straw for dam construction. If we understand our papyrus in a similar way, then Papontos was responsible for some duty in the Hermaion quarter. Unfortunately, the specific task Papontos was expected to carry out is not mentioned in the papyrus. Perhaps it concerned the performance of a certain liturgical duty. Indeed, the *amphodogrammateus* (later replaced by the phylarch) was responsible for nominations to compulsory public services or liturgies.⁶ Ultimately, however, it is difficult to draw any concrete conclusions as to this mysterious papyrus' original function, and so we must leave the question open here.

- 1 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἑρμαίου
Παποντῶς Πετοσεΐριος
- 3 μητρὸς Τσεναφύγχεως

“(Responsible?) for the quarter of Hermaion: Papontos son of Petoseiris, whose mother is Tsenaphunchis”

- 1 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἑρμαίου: See discussion above.

2 Παποντῶς: The name is attested in papyri from Oxyrhynchus in the third century (e.g. *P.Oxy.* 1.59, 8.1121, 10.1255, 19.2240, 22.2350), but our Papontos does not seem to be among them. The provenance graph in the Tris-

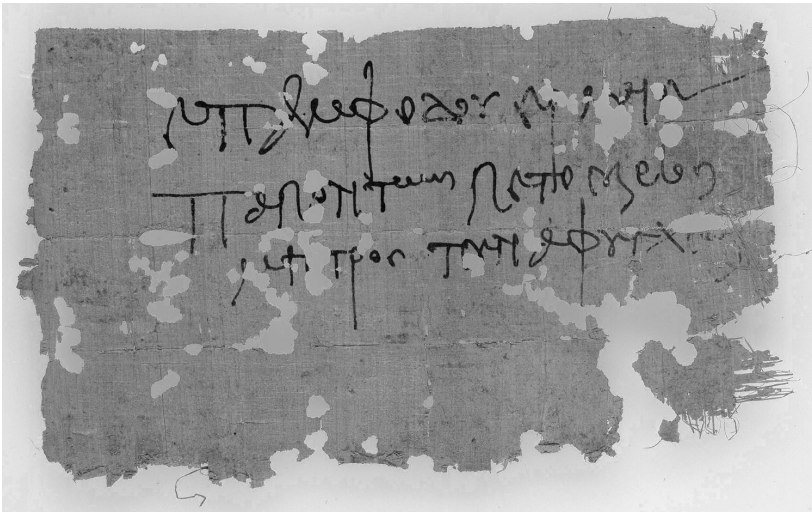
⁵ <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.petaus;50>

⁶ Alston (n. 2) 145; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. ἀμφοδογραμματεὺς.

megistos People database demonstrates that the occurrence of this name is statistically greater in papyri from Oxyrhynchus than elsewhere (based on 616 texts; see TM/People name ID 4872).

– Πετοσείριος: This is a variant of Πετοσίρις, “he who was given by Osiris” (see TM/People name ID 893). For third century attestations in papyri from Oxyrhynchus see *P.Hib.* 1.53 and *P.Oxy.* 1.112.

3 Τσεναφύγχεως: This name occurs in a document from Oxyrhynchus dated to 158-9 (*P.Oxy.* 8.1123), although there is no way to know whether that person is the same as our Τσεναφύχιος. On this name, see TM/People name ID 1059.⁷



⁷ I thank Arthur Verhoogt, Roger Bagnall, and the anonymous reviewer of *BASP* for their most helpful comments and suggestions.

List of Payments (P.Mich. inv. 3935a)

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Abstract

Edition of P.Mich. inv. 3935a, a list of payments featuring women, slaves, and a rare word (αναβατηρα) that may relate to irrigation.

Oxyrhynchus (?)

H x W 27.8 x 9.5 cm

late IV CE

The two papyrus fragments of inventory number 3935a are among more than a thousand purchased from Professor Arthur Boak by the University of Michigan in October 1926. The purchase was sponsored by the brothers Oscar and Richard Webber.¹ H.I. Bell, who acted as a intermediary between Boak and the University, stated that this lot included “a great deal of mere rubbish.”² Inventory number 3935 remained undescribed in his catalogue of “most promising pieces.” It comprises four large pieces (a-d): 3935a is the only text reported on here. The relationship between the fragments in the inventory lot is uncertain. 3935b and c are earlier hands; 3935d is a continuous text, unpublished, that may be in the same hand.

3935a comprises two fragments (a1 and a2), only one of which is substantial enough to print. The smaller fragment, a2, is 2 x 2.1 cm and has only four legible letters across two lines on the *recto*. Its *verso* is blank. The relationship between the two fragments is unclear. Although they do not physically join, they could have been part of the same document; the surviving letters of a2 are similar in form to those of a1, and the two papyri are a similar shade of brown. The remainder of this description refers only to the larger fragment a1. It is light brown, with a visible *kollesis* on the right margin of the *verso*, where the papyrus breaks off. The papyrus is 27.8 cm high; at its widest extent at the bottom, it is 9.5 cm wide, while at its smallest extent, in the middle, its width is only 3.9 cm. The *recto* is written in a single column, while the *verso* has the

¹ For the Webbers’ dealings with the University, see J.G. Keenan, “Undertaking under Oath for a Military Recruit (P.Mich. Inv. 3470),” *APF* 59 (2013) 383-390, at 384-386; J. Sheridan Moss, “Two Michigan Papyri,” *BASP* 46 (2009) 37-57, at 37.

² H.I. Bell, “Report on Papyri Sent by Professor Boak,” March 1925, p. 8 (<http://www.lib.umich.edu/papyrus-collection/report-papyri-sent-professor-boak-march-1925>).

remains of two columns, with almost no margin between them. However, there are several surviving margins on the papyrus as a whole. The *recto* text has an upper margin of 1 cm, and a left margin ranging from 0.3 cm in line 24 to 2.9 cm at line 29, the final line. The *verso* text is written against the fibers, with a top margin of 1.8 cm. Although this side has no distinct right margin, all of the lines appear to be complete. There is no clear lower margin, but the presence of totals confirms that we have the end of the text on both sides.

The papyrus contains two lists. There is no explicit indication of what the lists are, but because of the use of the nominative for the names, they probably refer to payments of some sort. The presence of women and slaves among those making payments is unusual.³ The contents of the list do not indicate the purpose for which the money was collected: the document may be a record of lease payments from a commercial property (there are a number of professionals), donations, or dues for an association. These payments were quite numerous, judging by the presence of subtotals in each column, and were made both in coin and in kind (jars of an unknown substance; wine is most likely, but other substances are possible⁴). The majority of payments were made in such jars. There is no apparent relation between professions and payments: that is, those making payments in kind are not always oil merchants, wine vendors, etc. The names have no immediately apparent order (i.e., they are not organized alphabetically, and apparently not by profession; for an exception, see *verso* col. 2, lines 4-5). Finally, there is no clear relationship among the majority of people listed. If the payments are dues to an association, it is not a professional association; it could be religious, as there are religious functionaries listed.

The lists have three notable features. First is the inclusion (on both sides) of a number of women and slaves, several with names that are rare or unattested in Egypt. Second is the presence of rare professions. Both the names and the professions include Latin loanwords, either directly transliterated (λανάριος) or hybrid nouns (γαροπώλης). Finally, the *verso* includes a term (αναβατηρα [i.e. ἀναβατηρία?]) that is attested fewer than ten times in extant Greek, both literary and documentary.

³ A comparable text is *BGU* 1.7 (3rd century), which lists slave contributors.

⁴ A list of possible substances is found in K.A. Worp, "A Survey of ἀπλᾶ, δι(δι)πλᾶ and τριπλᾶ Measures in the Papyri," *ZPE* 131 (2000) 145-149, at 147. See also N. Kruit and K.A. Worp, "Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt," *APF* 45 (1999) 96-127, at 120; the authors locate use of the measure in Herakleopolis and Oxyrhynchos (116). For an updated list, see T. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt: The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* (Ann Arbor 2012) 190-191.

The papyrus is dated on paleographical grounds. Close parallels are *P.Princ.* 2.64 (especially the shape of the name Alexander, which appears on the *recto* of this papyrus) and *P.Col.* 10.282 *recto* (which has similar loops in rounded letters such as α). Both date to the late third or fourth century. *P.Oxy.* 59.3998 (4th century) is a more regular hand, but has similar letter forms to the best letters in this papyrus. The two sides are written in a similar hand, and it is possible that the scribe is the same. However, several differences between *recto* and *verso* problematize an attempt at identification. Although most letter forms are similar, the writing on the *recto* shows more adherence to standard spelling than that of the *verso*. The *recto* writing is also more cramped and uses more abbreviations than the *verso* (although the latter may indicate haste). The way of recording totals seems different on the two sides: although that on the *recto* is partially lost, it does not have space for a total number of contributors. This total is included on the *verso*. The *recto* hand is medium-sized, with limited flourishes. Some letters are separated; ει are always linked. *Upsilon* is frequently high and shallow (*recto* 14, 22, 23; similarly, *verso* 10). The scribe has strong descending letters and uses a combination of forms: H and η, N and ν appear interchangeably. θ, χ, ξ, and φ are larger than other letters in the document. In contrast, the *verso* hand uses only H and N, and few letters are markedly larger than the rest (ξ and ρ have long tails; the K in Κοτρεῖς, line 29, is big). In other respects the *recto* and *verso* hands are the same.

The palaeographical date is strengthened by the use of myriads of *denarii* in the payments. The cash payments range from 1 to 8.25 million *denarii*, while the contributions in kind range from 1 to 5 jars. Assuming that the real value of cash payments was on the same scale as the payments in kind, the papyrus must date to a period of extreme inflation. Roger Bagnall's analysis of prices suggests a *terminus post quem* of 357.⁵ However, if the fragmentary word in *recto* line 5 is χιλιαρχος, it suggests that the papyrus cannot be much later than the mid-4th century. James Keenan has noted that the latest appearance of this word dates to ca. 325, after which *tribunus* is used.⁶ However, this papyrus may be best placed in the late 4th century. Other documents of similar type also come from the fourth century; for example, a list from Theadelphia (*T.Varie* 30) with entries in the nominative case and which includes slave contributions. Nonetheless, a date in the early 5th century remains possible.

⁵ For the date, see the charts in R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Atlanta, GA 1985) 43-48. For trends in inflation, see, e.g., *ibid.* 13-15; R.S. Bagnall and P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Currency in the Fourth Century and the Date of *CPR* V 26," *ZPE* 24 (1977) 111-124. Cf. J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2001) 33 and 39-51 for disagreement and a new theory.

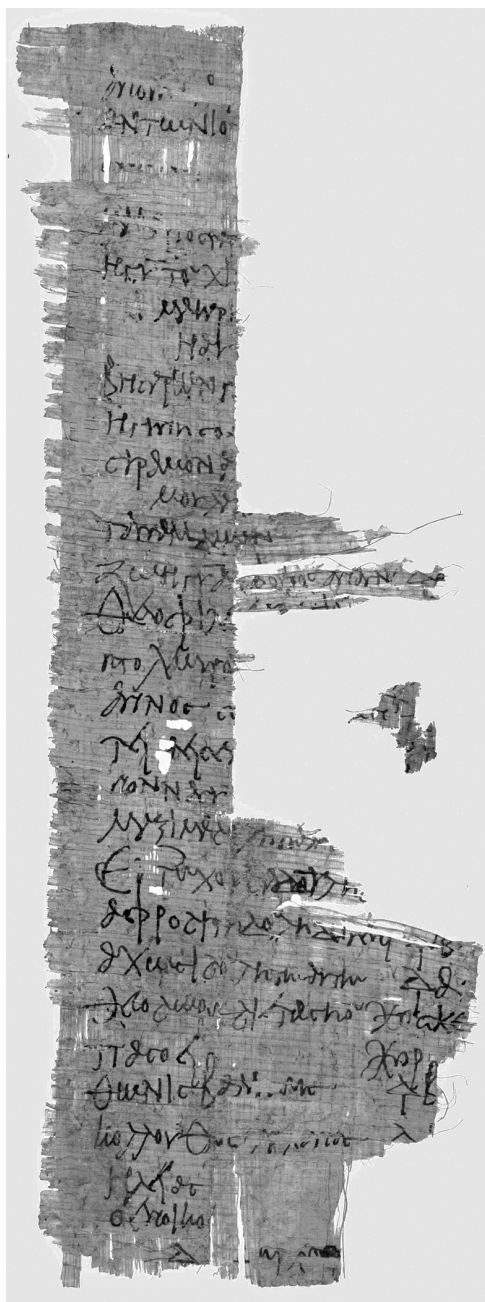
⁶ Keenan (n. 1) 389.

The provenance of the papyrus is unknown, although “described as coming from Behneseh (Oxyrhynchus)” (Bell); many of the names are attested throughout Egypt, as are the limited number of abbreviations used.

Fragment a1 *recto*

- Ἀνοῦπ . αυ[
 Ἀντώνιος [
 . γ [
 Μακάριος γαρ[οπώλης
 5 ἡ γυ(νή) τοῦ χι . [
 [ἡ γ]υ(νή) Μακαρί[ου
 ἡ αὐ[τή
 Βησαρίων γ[
 ἡ γυνή Σο . [
 10 Συράμιον α . [
 μουλαῖο[
 Ταπάμμων [
 Ζωὴ γυ(νή) Ἀπφοῦτος ἀναγν(ώστου) δι(πλοῦν) α
 Θεοφίλει δι[ο]ύλη α . [
 15 Πτολεμαῖος/ [
 Ἄννος σ . [
 Τειαεῖς εμ[
 Νόννα γυ(νή) [
 Μάξιμα δούλη Παλλ[
 20 Εὐτουχοῦσα δούλη . [ca. 4] δι(πλ) [
 Ἀφροδίτη δούλη Δωγενεῖ δι(πλῆ) β
 Ἀχωσι δούλη τῆς αὐτῆς δι(πλοῦν) α
 Θεοδώρα δι(ἀ) Τασήου(ς) (δηναρίων μυριάδες) σκε
 Πασόει (δηναρίων μυριάδες) ρ
 25 Θῶνις βαλανεύς δι(πλῆ) β
 Κολλοῦθος λαχανᾶς δι(πλῆ) .
 Ἥλειας [
 ὁ ἔνοικος [
 (γίνεται) δι(πλῆ) [c. 2] καὶ (δηναρίων μυριάδες) . . [

5, 6, 13, 18 γῦ pap. 13, 21, etc. διπλοῦν/διπλῆ represented by δ with a long tail 13 ἀναγν/ pap. 21 δουλη corr. ex. γῦ 23 δι/ τασηο^ν pap. 23, 24 χο pap. 29 — pap.

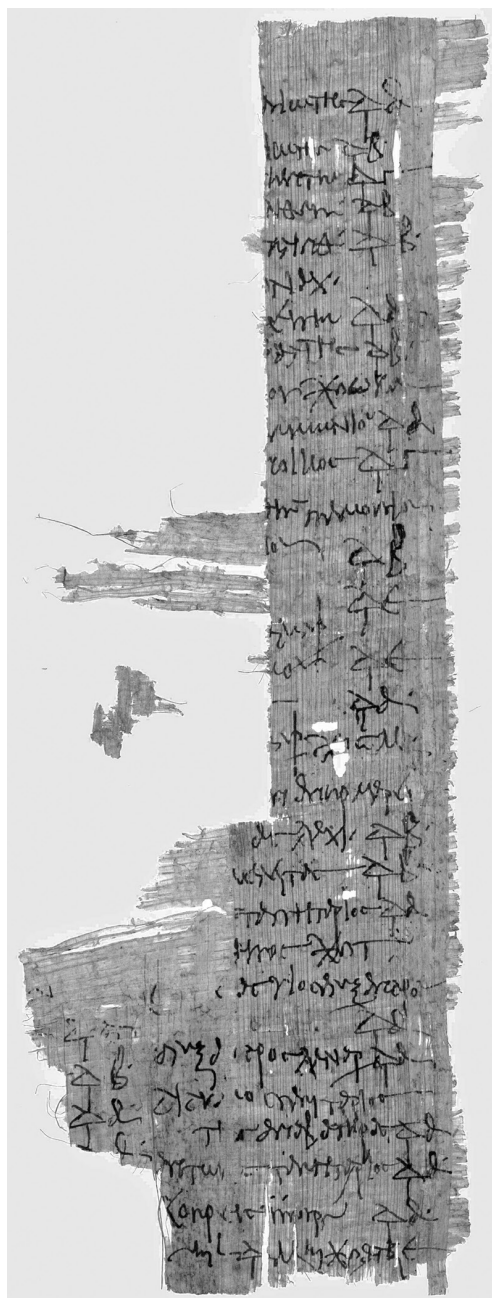


Fragment a1 *verso*, Col. 1

	] (traces)
	] (traces)
	] . δι(πλοῦν) α
	]ς δι(πλῆ) β
5	] δι(πλοῦν) α
	] δι(πλοῦν) α

Col. 2

	[ca. 3 στρ]ατιώτης	δι(πλοῦν) α
	[ca. 3 στρα]τιώτης	δι(πλῆ) β
	[ca. 5 λε]υκαντής	δι(πλῆ) γ
	[ca. 4 πλι]νθουτ(ής)	δι(πλῆ) β
5	[ca. 5]ς πλινθ(ευτής)	δι(πλῆ) β
	[ca. 5 μ]οναχ(ός)	
	[ca. 2 πλινθ]ευτής	δι(πλοῦν) α.
	[ca. 6] ψάλτης	δι(πλῆ) β
	[ca. 6]ου	(δηναρίων μυριάδες) ωξε
10	[ή γυ(νή) (?)] Ἀμμωνίου	δι(πλοῦν) α
	[ca. 5 ξ]νοικος	δι(πλῆ) γ
	[ca. 6] θυγ(άτηρ) Παμουνίου	
	[ca. 6]ιου	δι(πλῆ) β
	[ca. 5] ἀδελφ(ός)	δι(πλῆ) ε
15	[ca. 5]μου	δι(πλῆ) ε
	[ca. 5]ς	(διπλοῦν) α
	[ca. 4 ἀδ]ελφ(ός)	(δηναρίων μυριάδες) σμ
	[ca. 7]ν ἀνὴρ Μαρεΐ(ας)	
	[ca. 6]ας λαχ(ανᾶς)	δι(πλῆ) β
20	[ό επι]μελειτας	δι(πλῆ) β
	[ca. 4]ς ταπητάριος	δι(πλοῦν) α
	[ό] αὐτός	(δηναρίων μυριάδες) τ
	Θ[. .] . ος υἱός Ἀλεξάνδρου	
	[[συ .]] [c. 4] .	δι(πλοῦν) α
25	Ἀλέξανδρος λανάρ(ιος)	δι(πλοῦν) α
	Δίδυμος ταπιτάριος	
	τῆς αναβατηρας	δι(πλοῦν) α
	Ἀντώνις ταπητάριος	δι(πλοῦν) α
	Κοπρεῖς ὑπουργ(ός)	δι(πλοῦν) α
30	(γίνεται) κη (ὦν) δι(πλῆ) μ καὶ (δηναρίων μυριάδες) Ἀτξε	



1, 2, etc. διπλοῦν/διπλῇ here represented by δ 4 νθουτ/ pap. 5 πλινθ' pap. 6 μ]οναχ' pap. 9, 17, 22, 30: χο pap. 12 θυγ- pap. 14 αδελφ pap. 17 ελφ pap. 19 λαχ' pap. 25 λαναρ pap. 29 ὕπουργ pap. 30 /κη L, χο pap.

Recto

- Anoup [
 Antonios [
 (name?) [
 Makarios, garum merchant [
 5 The wife of the chi[liarch?
 The wife of Makarios [
 The same (woman) [
 Besarion [
 The wife of So[
 10 Syramon [
 mule-driver [
 Tapammon [
 Zoe, wife of Apphous, reader 1 double jar
 Theophila/-e slave of [
 15 Ptolemaios [
 Annos [
 Teiaeis [
 Nonna, wife of [
 Maxima, slave of Pall[
 20 Eutyousa, slave of [[x] double jar(s)
 Aphrodite, slave of Dogenis 2 double jars
 Achosi, slave of the same (woman) 1 double jar
 Theodora, through the agency of Tases 2,250,000 *denarii*
 Pasoei 1,000,000 *denarii*
 25 Thonis, bath attendant 2 double jars
 Kollouthos, grocer [x] double jars
 Elias [
 the resident [
 total: [x] double jars and [x] myriads of *denarii*

Verso, Col. 1

- 25] 1 double jar
] 2 double jars
] 1 double jar
] 1 double jar

	Col. 2	
	] soldier	1 double jar
	] soldier	2 double jars
	] whitewasher	3 double jars
	] brickmaker	2 double jars
5	] brickmaker	2 double jars
	] monk	
	] brickmaker	1 double jar
	] singer	2 double jars
	]	8,250,000 <i>denarii</i>
10	The wife?] of Ammonios	1 double jar
	] resident	3 double jars
	] daughter of Pamounios	
	]	2 double jars
	] brother	5 double jars
15	]	5 double jars
	]	1 double jar
	] brother	2,400,000 <i>denarii</i>
	] husband of Maria	
	] grocer	2 double jars
20	The overseer	2 double jars
	] carpet weaver	1 double jar
	The same (man)	3,000,000 <i>denarii</i>
	(name), son of Alexander	
	...	1 double jar
25	Alexander, wool-weaver	1 double jar
	Didymos, weaver	
	of the <i>anabatera</i>	1 double jar
	Antonios, weaver	1 double jar
	Kopreis, assistant	1 double jar
30	total: 28 (persons), from whom (received):	40 double jars and
		13,650,000 <i>denarii</i>

Recto

3 The traces . γ are consistent with a number of uprights; possibly Νόννοϲ or more ἔνοικοι (line 28).

4 Garum-merchants are attested in fourth-century Oxyrhynchus (e.g., *P.Oxy.* 54.3749; 319) and potentially elsewhere (*P.Bad.* 2.42; provenance unknown). Although there are few attestations of this profession, the Oxyrhyn-

chus papyri mentions a κοινόν, indicating that there was more than one in this town. For guilds in Oxyrhynchus, see I. Fikhman, “Die Bevölkerungszahl von Oxyrhynchos in Byzantinischer Zeit,” *APF* 21 (1971) 111-120, at 118-19. For discussion of Greco-Latin hybrids, see, e.g., J.N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge 2003), ch. 5 for Egypt; S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel Greco d’Egitto* (Barcelona 1971).

5 There are many potential male names starting Χι-, both Greek and Egyptian: Χιᾶς, Χιλεῦς, etc. However, the presence of the article (as one of the reviewers pointed out to me) suggests that this word should be a profession, rather than a name. If so, χιλίαρχος is most likely; as Keenan (n. 1) 389 points out, “its latest attestation as such seems to be from the beginning of the fourth century (SB 24.16000).” SB 24.16000 is dated to the first quarter of the fourth century. As discussed in the introduction, this papyrus is likely to be ca. 25-50 years later than that.

6 γυνή is expected here, but the traces of the *upsilon* are very faint. In line 5 above, γυ(νή) has a line under the *gamma*, indicating an abbreviation here. For women in Byzantine Egypt, see, e.g., H. Melaerts and L. Mooren (eds.), *Le rôle et le statut de la femme en Égypte hellénistique, romaine et byzantine* (Leuven 2002).

8 The underdotted letter following Βησαρίων must be either γ or π. The letter that currently appears is a γ; the ink that carries over into the lacuna could be the tail of a π or a second letter.

9 The diagonal slant of the traces after Σο- are consistent with χ, μ, and potentially ν. Many names are possible supplements, but these names are rare, with fewer than ten attestations in the published papyri; Σώπατρος (TM #5961) is more common, but is spelled with an ω in all attestations, never ο. Σοχώτης (TM #1123) offers the best option: it is attested over 200 times total, almost 100 with this spelling.

10 Συράμον is not an attested name, but may be a misspelling of Σαρ-άμμων. There is a stray mark below the α, which seems to be where the scribe started to write a different letter (perhaps μ, which begins the next line) and changed his mind.

Another option is to divide this line into a name and profession, such as Σύρα μοναχ[ή]. That the entry carries over onto a second line is unusual for this papyrus, but there may be a parallel on the *verso* (lines 26-7). The date is consistent with the occurrence of a female monk; see E. A. Judge, “The Earliest Use of Monachos for ‘Monk’ and the Origins of Monasticism,” *JAC* 20 (1977)

72-89, at 89; E. Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IVe-VIIIe siècles)* (Warszawa 2009) 609-611.

11 *μουλαῖος* is more commonly spelled *μυλαῖος*, and may be a lowly “mill-worker” rather than a mill owner. The word is rare, but see SB 20.14197. The lack of a definite article here suggests that this word belongs with the name in line 10, where a definite article may have stood in the lacuna. The line breaks elsewhere in the papyrus suggest that *μου-* began a new word.

12 *Ταπάμμων* was originally written *Ταπαμα*; the second α has been corrected to μ. Both spellings are attested (see TM #18986). Two late third-century papyri naming *Αὔρηλία Ταπάμμων* come from Oxyrhynchus (see *P.Oxy.Hels.* 26 and SB 8.9833); this *Ταπάμμων* may be related. The name is not followed by any other letters, although there is space for further details, at least 8 letters.

13 *Αν Ἀπφουᾶς ἀναγνώστης* is attested in Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* 16.1891); its late fifth century date precludes an identification. G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten* (München and Leipzig 2002) 38, cites over 50 known readers in Byzantine Egypt. The term ἀναγνώστης also appears in the papyri before the 5th century; see, e.g., *P.Gron.* 9 (392), *P.Kell.* 1.32 (364) and 66 (early 4th century), and *P.Oxy.* 55.3807 (ca. 301). As E. Wipszycka points out (“Les ordres mineurs dans l’Église d’Égypte du IVe au VIIIe siècle,” *JJP* 22 [1992] 181-215, at 195; full discussion, 194-205), it is not until the 5th century that ἀναγνώστης refers solely to clergy, and it is difficult to discern the difference between clergy and lay readers in a mere list. The married status of Apphous here cannot help, as ἀναγνώσται were allowed to marry (*ibid.* 201). Hence, although the Kellis examples are church readers, in this papyrus the term may refer to a lay office (as in *P.Gron.* 9).

– *διπλοῦν* is a fairly common term for a jar of wine, with over 100 known examples (see Worp [n. 4]). Although the word is frequently abbreviated, the digraph may be written in several ways (e.g. *SPP* 10.235 uses a similar, but not identical, symbol). The abbreviation is not diagnostic.

14 *Θεοφίλει* for *Θεοφίλα/Θεοφίλη*. Slaves are well-attested in papyri, although they rarely make payments (but see, e.g., *BGU* 8.1891 and 1893, from second-century Theadelphia; *P.Col.* 7.134 for a fourth-century account from Karanis). The presence of slave contributors indicates that they and/or their owners were not poor, although they were unlikely to have been rich (on the potential for craftsmen to become rich, see P. van Minnen, “Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt,” *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 6.1

[1987] 31-88). On the continuing presence of slaves in late antique Egypt, see, e.g., R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 123-124 and 266.

15 Πτολεμαῖος is written hastily. The ε appears directly over the μ, and there is a blot after the ι. It looks like the scribe began to write Πτολεμαῖς and corrected the σ into the following ο.

16 Possibly this should be corrected to Ἀνν<ι>ος, a name which is more frequently attested in papyri. An Ἄννος is known from the first century: see TM #8566.

17 Τειαεῖς is an Egyptian name and unattested in this spelling. It may be a variant of the more common Ταῆσις (as suggested for the similar Τειης in *P.Count.* 24). It may also be related to Τειαις (*P.Lond.* 7.2191, col. 4) or Τεαῦς (*P.Mich.* 4.224, col. 113). These parallels vary in date (the first two are Ptolemaic, and the last Antonine); there is no possibility of identification.

19 The gender of the owner Pall- is not clear. Both masculine and feminine supplements are possible, but female names are slightly less common. A genitive such as, e.g., Πάλλαντος cannot be ruled out.

20 Εὐτυχοῦσα for Εὐτυχοῦσα; it is an unusual name. There is a parallel in *SB* 24.16000, col. 1, but there the woman appears to be free. The name is also attested outside of Egypt: see *IG* II² 11496 (Attica, 2nd/3rd century CE). A descender in the next line shows that Eutychousa paid in jars, but not the amount.

21 Aphrodite is a common name, with over 100 attestations (TM #1741 with this spelling), mostly in the Roman period.

22 This name is otherwise unknown. However, Ἀκῶς is a known man's name (e.g. *O.Bodl.* 2.1891); perhaps Αχῶσι is the female equivalent.

25 The name Θῶνις is found almost exclusively in Oxyrhynchus.

26 Although vegetables appear somewhat frequently in the papyri, their vendors are more rarely attested. For parallels, see e.g. *BGU* 12.2194 and 19.2837 (6th century, Hermopolis); *P.Oxy.* 24.2421 (4th century).

27 Ἡλείας is more usually spelled Ἡλίας.

29 A small number of accounts combine amounts in cash and in kind. The closest to this papyrus are *CPR* 5.26 and *SB* 22.15247 (a fourth-century account from the Arsinoite nome). Neither integrate *denarii* and διπλᾶ as fully as this papyrus: payments in *denarii* are followed by payments in jugs. Accounts such as *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.61 clearly indicate when a citizen is paying a cash sum

rather than the required materials; it is possible that this list is similar, with goods or coins being accepted equally.

Verso, Col. 2

3 The work of a λευκαντής involves “whitening” of any sort, including whitewashing and bleaching (see H.C. Youtie, “P. Mich. Inv. 337: λευκαντής,” *ZPE* 22 [1976] 63-68; M. Walbank, “Where Have All the Names Gone? The Christian Community in Corinth in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Eras,” in S.J. Friesen, D.N. Schowalter, and J.C. Walters [eds], *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* [Leiden 2010] 257-323, esp. 284). There is no way to determine what work is meant here; the proximity of brick-makers (next line) may indicate whitewashing, but the weavers at the end of the list are consistent with bleaching. The term itself is rare, with fewer than a dozen examples attested in the papyri; see also *P.Wash.Univ.* 1.37, *P. Mert.* 2.95. All surviving examples date to the 4th or 5th century and are thus consistent with the date of this papyrus. There is a κοινόν of λευκανταί attested at Oxyrhynchos; see *P.Oxy.* 54.3743r and 3742.

4 πλινθουτής for πλινθευτής. Brick-makers occur over 40 times in the papyri, mostly from the Roman era and later. Another brick-maker appears in the next line. These lines represent one of two places in the document where it may be possible to connect the contributors (for the other, see notes on lines 23-28 below). As mentioned in the introduction, there is no clear relationship between the majority of contributors in this list: it is not divided by gender or profession, and names are not listed alphabetically. If the people in this document are listed in a coherent order to the scribe, it may be because they worked together (i.e. in the same building) or close by. If so, lines 4-5 may represent a small workshop.

6 The appearance of a monk demonstrates that the papyrus’ date is later than ca. 320; see M. Choat, “The Development and Usage of Terms for ‘Monk’ in Late Antique Egypt,” *JAC* 45 (2002) 5-23 (esp. 8-9) and Judge (n. on *recto* 10) 85-89. For monks living among citizens, see, e.g., J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, DC 1987) 69-75; Wipszycka (n. on *recto* 10) 355-66 and elsewhere.

8 In non-Christian contexts, a ψάλτης would be an entertainer; in Christian contexts, Schmelz (n. on *recto* 13) 39 suggests a choir member (for definitions and attestations of church professions, *ibid.* 19-38). He also notes that it is frequently difficult to differentiate between church/monastic and secular contexts (esp. 90-93). For an overview of minor clergy, see Thomas (previous n.) 67-68; Wipszycka (n. on *recto* 13), esp. 205-208.

10 There is space for ἡ γυ(νή)] Ἀμμωνίου, but not a name. Using the husband's name to identify the woman appears also on the *recto* (line 5).

20 Possibly a misspelling of ἐπιμελητής; the scribe's spelling is normally closer to standard. *P.Hib.* 2.220, dated to 335 CE, features an ἐπιμελειτην. The α termination is problematic, but clearly written. If ἐπιμελητής is correct, there is no space for a name. It is not clear what this contributor managed, but like the ἔνοικος of line 10, his profession may relate to the area from which payment was being collected.

21 Ταπητάριοι weave rough wools, particularly goat hair. They have no particular geographic or chronological prominence; see the tables in K. Droß-Krüpe's study of weavers (*Wolle-Weber- Wirtschaft: Die Textilproduktion der römischen Kaiserzeit im Spiegel der papyrologischen Überlieferung* [Wiesbaden 2011] 100-102). The term is rare; for the pricing of such rough weaving at this period, see *CPR* 5.26.847. Weaving and textiles have also been discussed by E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine* (Warszawa 1965), and in the collection edited by D. Cardon and M. Feugère, *Archéologie des textiles, des origines au Ve siècle* (Montagnac 2000).

22 There is space for 5-6 letters before the ó, but the area may have been intentionally blank (as it is in the similar line 5 *recto*).

23 Ἀλέξανδρου has a line through the ξ; the scribe perhaps started to abbreviate and then wrote the name out in full.

25 Λανάριοι become more common beginning in the fifth century, according to Droß-Krüpe (n. on *verso* 2.21) 81-82. She notes that the first appearance of this Roman loanword is in Diocletian's Price Edict. Like ταπητάριος, it becomes geographically widespread; however, λανάριος is more common. See also Daris (n. on *recto* 4) 66.

26 Α Δίδυμος ταπιτάριος is known in Hermopolis (*BGU* 4.1082).

27 τῆς αναβατηρας seems to be running over from the line above, as the amount of money paid by Didymos is attached to this line, rather than to the line with his name. The genitive is therefore describing Didymos or his profession. The term is nonetheless likely to be geographical

The word αναβατηρα is a *hapax* in this form. If ἀναβατηρ<ι>α is meant, it is attested in only two other papyri (*P.Oslo* 3.111 of 235 CE and *P.Oxy.* 66.4537 of the 6th-7th cent.); its meaning is uncertain, but seems to be a geographic feature of some kind. The three papyri taken together suggest that an ἀναβατηρία is an overflow channel for a canal, possibly with an associated counterpoise lift used in periods of flooding.

P.Oslo 3.111 is a list of free inhabitants which orients itself geographically by houses. In his commentary, Eitrem suggests that ἀναβατηρία is perhaps a quay or a dock on a canal. In *P.Oxy.* 66.4537, ἀναβατηρία is a landscape feature to be dug: i.e., neither a quay nor a dock. Syrcou in the commentary on *P.Oxy.* 66.4537 offers a more detailed discussion of the term: according to her, it is a “shallow and narrow trough, but the precise function of this trough remains unclear.” The association of a weaver with an irrigation canal is also unclear.

In *P.Oxy.* 66.4537, two channels are dug, of which one is a *lakkos*. According to Danielle Bonneau (referenced at the end of this n.), a *lakkos* is a reservoir intended for water from a *saqia*. A *saqia* is tall enough that it could function reasonably well as a landmark, as in *P.Oslo* 3.111, while the ἀναβατηρία itself is recessed into the ground. The ἀναβατηρία is, according to Syrcou, a “shallow and narrow trough,” possibly open to the air, and is associated with a *lakkos* and *saqia*. It is possible that an ἀναβατηρία is an channel for a *saqia* wheel. In this case, the word ἀναβατηρία could perhaps act as metonymy for the entire water-lifting device.⁷

It seems most likely that these *saqia* channels were large enough to provide a geographical marker, and that the weaver Didymos simply lived and/or worked nearby.

Water management in late antique Egypt is treated by J.P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices* (Toronto 1984); D. Bonneau, *Le régime administrative de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (Leiden 1993); H.-D. Bienert and J. Häser (eds.), *Men of Dikes and Canals: The Archaeology of Water in the Middle East* (Rahden 2004), esp. 365-390.

28 There is a slash after the α in ταπητάριος; another abbreviation that the scribe reconsidered.

29 The usual spelling of this name is Κοπρῆς.

30 The writing in this line is extremely cursive with several flourishes. The totals seem accurate; the surviving papyrus lists 35 double jars and 1350

⁷ If so, this would distinguish the ἀναβατηρία from the ἀναβατικὸν ὕδρευμα found in *P.Flor.* 1.50 or *P.Michael.* 42. These are actual water-lifting machines, while the ἀναβατηρία is not.

Although the papyrological evidence supports the definition of a permanent physical landmark, literary attestations yields an alternative definition. The author of the *Geoponica* uses the word ἀναβατηρία (9.17.8) in his discussion of olive cultivation, and it seems to be a three-sided ladder (perhaps similar to an ἀνάβαθρα, but temporary). Such a ladder seems unconnected to the papyrological usage, as it is unlikely that a movable ladder would be a viable landmark. Similarly, Plutarch's reference to an ἀναβατήριον sacrifice (*Soll. Anim.* 984b6) does not seem relevant either.

myriads of *denarii*. The amounts missing in lacunae are consistent with the surviving payments. Assuming that Δίδυμος ταπιτάριος | τῆς ἀναβατηρας is a single individual, there are 28 persons in this column.⁸

⁸ I received this papyrus as a student in the ASP Summer Papyrology Seminar in Ann Arbor in 2009. I would like to thank my fellow participants and the co-organizers Jim Keenan, Arthur Verhoogt, and Terry Wilfong for their assistance; much gratitude is also due to the late Traianos Gagos. I would also like to thank my colleagues Katherine Blouin and Ben Kelly for their assistance; the anonymous reviewers and Peter van Minnen for their exceptional patience; and the Hatcher Graduate Library at the University of Michigan for permission to reproduce and publish the papyrus.

A Labor Contract from the Dossier of Flavius Eulogius and His Descendants¹

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Abstract

Edition of a sixth-century Oxyrhynchite labor contract between four πεδιοφύλακες from Terythis and their employer, the landowner Flavius Serenus. The papyrus belongs to the dossier of Flavius Eulogius and his descendants.

Physical and Palaeographical Description

This medium-brown papyrus was purchased in Egypt by B.P. Grenfell and F.W. Kelsey in March-April 1920. Before it breaks off, it preserves the first twenty-five lines of a labor contract dating to the reign of Justinian. It was rolled tightly from right to left and then folded once along the horizontal axis, approximately 13 cm from the top of the document. It was subsequently flattened out, producing seven folds along the vertical axis (approximately 12-15 mm apart). On the plausible assumption that the horizontal fold was situated near the midpoint of the sheet, its original height was ca. 26 cm, and up to nine additional lines of text are missing. The fibers are damaged or lost along a vertical swath in the upper-left portion of the sheet between the first and third vertical folds, where the folded papyrus was exposed. Parallels for the documentary preamble as well as the extant portions of the dating clause (March 30, 558 CE) permit the restoration of the text in the lacuna.²

¹ I am grateful to Nick Gonis, Todd Hickey, Jim Keenan, Arthur Verhoogt, and the editors and referees of *BASP* for helpful guidance, to Leyla Lau-Lamb for her diligent conservation of the papyrus, and to the University of Manitoba for financial support. A preliminary edition was presented at the 2015 SCS annual meeting in New Orleans. The image of the papyrus is digitally reproduced with the permission of the Papyrus Collection, Graduate Library, University of Michigan.

² All dates, unless otherwise indicated, are CE.

A trio of modern repairs were made on the *verso* using recycled strips of papyrus: these hold the document together precisely where the damage to the sheet is most serious. Two of the strips contain ink, and one of them is situated atop the text's docket, which is too faint to be legible. Through the work of the conservator of the Michigan collection, the papyrus has been stabilized, and the decision to leave the modern repairs in place was made; with the exception of a misplaced scrap containing the *incipit* of line 19, the readings are unaffected and not in doubt.³

The Dossier of Flavius Eulogius and his Descendants

The financial transaction at the heart of the contract is somewhat unclear (see further the commentary on 19-20 below), but other aspects of the document are familiar. The employer, a certain Flavius Serenus, also appears in a pair of other texts from sixth-century Oxyrhynchus: *P.lond.* 3.43 (525) and *P.Oxy.* 1.140 (550). *P.Mich.* inv. 476 is thus the latest addition to a small archive and dossier of texts surrounding the family, named after Serenus' grandfather Flavius Eulogius.⁴

The archive proper can be traced to Grenfell and Hunt's first season at el-Bahnasa, a portion of whose Late Antique material was eventually published in *P.Oxy.* 16. That volume included ten papyri constituting an archive:⁵ nine of them, the editors report, were found together.⁶ Seven are leases, addressed (with one exception) to Eulogius' son Apphous or to both sons Apphous and

³ The fragment in question should ideally be moved 3 mm to the left, where it would sit on the left side of the lacuna, not (as at present) on the right; it reads τῆς ὕ, letters which certainly belong to the start of the line. The error is probably an indication that the repair was made by the dealer and not Grenfell.

⁴ On the archive and dossier, see R. Rémondon, "L'Égypte au 5e siècle de notre ère; les sources papyrologiques et leurs problèmes," in *Pap. Congr. XI* (1966) 144; J.G. Keenan, "From the Archive of Flavius Eulogius and His Descendants," *ZPE* 34 (1979) 133-138; T.M. Hickey and J.G. Keenan, "More from the Archive of the Descendants of Eulogius," *Analecta Papyrologica* 7-8 (1996-1997) 209-218; T.M. Hickey and J.G. Keenan, "P.Lond. V 1876 Descr.: Which Landowner?" *CdÉ* 79 (2004) 241-248. There is also a Trismegistos (arch_ID 82) report by K. Geens, "Archive of the Descendants of Flavius Eulogius, *palatinus* and *magistriano*s" available online at <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/82.pdf>.

⁵ *P.Oxy.* 16.1876, 1891, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962 (= SB 16.12583), 1963 (= SB 24.15925), 1972, and 1994 (= SB 24.15924).

⁶ *P.Oxy.* 16.1961 was not found with the other nine papyri (*P.Oxy.* 16, p. 71).

Martyrios. The family evidently acquired extensive property holdings in Oxyrhynchus over the course of a century or so.⁷

Subsequent excavations would add to the archive: Grenfell and Hunt's sixth season, in which they returned to the bountiful mounds of the first, produced the lease subsequently published as *P.Oxy.* 68.4686 (440). Two additional leases, published as *P.Oxy.* 68.4693 (466) and 4694 (466) were potentially excavated in this season as well; despite noting that they were probably not found together, Nikolaos Gonis wondered whether they "lay not very far from the texts of volume XVI."⁸ The three new leases are noteworthy for being addressed to Eulogius: they are the earliest texts in the archive.⁹

The archive is complicated by additional texts whose find spots and contents belie a single corpus of documents. The non-*P.Oxy.* documents *P.Mich.* 15.731 (499) and *P.Lond.* 5.1876 descr. (= *SB* 28.16969; 498/9 or 513/4), for example, were not excavated by Grenfell and Hunt but fit the pattern inasmuch as both are leases addressed to Eulogius' son Apphous. Other texts extend to the family's third generation: *P.Iand.* 3.43 (525) and *P.Oxy.* 1.140 (550) are, like the Michigan papyrus published here, addressed to Serenus, while *PSI* 5.466 (518) is addressed to his brother Hatres. The outlying date of *P.Oxy.* 16.1972 (560), additionally, means that the Apphous to whom it was addressed was not Eulogius' son, but perhaps a grandson. The geographical dispersal of these papyri (to Ann Arbor, Gießen, London, Oxford, and Florence) reflects discrete acquisition histories and casts doubt on a single archive.¹⁰ It is therefore preferable to distinguish a dossier of documents pertaining to the family from the archive excavated in Grenfell and Hunt's first and sixth seasons.

⁷ Where specified, the leases are for homes or apartments, not farmland. The family history is interesting: N. Gonis, in his introduction to *P.Oxy.* 68.4686 (pp. 139-140), notes that Eulogius was leasing property already in 440 "at a time when he is not in imperial service and is a mere Aurelius ... if Eulogius was a man of certain means before joining the service, his wealth did not entirely originate in it."

⁸ *P.Oxy.* 68, p. 140.

⁹ *P.Oxy.* 68.4686 (440), 4693 (466), and 4694 (466).

¹⁰ Although *P.Oxy.* 1.140 was excavated during the first season, it seems not to have been found with the texts published in *P.Oxy.* 16. The non-*P.Oxy.* texts were collected over the course of twenty years: *P.Lond.* 5.1876 descr. was acquired in 1906; *P.Iand.* 3.43 was purchased in 1906/1907 via the German cartel; *PSI* 5.466 was excavated sometime in 1910-1914, and the two Michigan texts were purchased separately, in 1920 and 1925.

P.Mich. inv. 476

H x W 16.6 x 10.2 cm

Oxyrhynchus, March 30, 558 CE

- [+ βασιλείας τοῦ] θειοτάτ[ο]υ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου
 [ἡμῶν δεσπό]του Φλ(αοῦ)ίου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ
 [αἰωνίου Αὐγού]στου καὶ Α[ὐ]τοκράτορος ἔτους
 [λα, τοῖς τὸ ις μετὰ τῇ]ν ὑπατίαν Φλ(αοῦ)ίου Βασιλείου
 5 τ[οῦ λαμπροτάτου,] Φαρμουῦθι δ' ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ς
 Φλ[α]οῦιφ Σερρήνω τῷ μεγάλω πρ(επεστάτῳ) καὶ
 π[ερ]ι[β]λέπτῳ κόμετι τοῦ θεοῦ
 σ[υνεδ]ρίου νίῳ τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς
 μ[νήμ]ης Μαρτυρίου γεουχοῦντι ἐνταῦθα
 10 ἐ[ν τῇ λαμπ]ρᾷ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει Αὐρήλιοι
 Γούν[θ]ος υἱὸς Φοιβάμμωνος μητρὸς
 Ταρ[. . .] καὶ Πεκῦσις υἱὸς Παμουθίου
 μητ[ρὸς Γο]υνθᾶς καὶ Οὐαλέριος υἱὸς Μῆστρου
 μητ[ρὸς Σ]οφίας καὶ Γεώργιος υἱὸς Γούνθου
 15 μ[η]τρ[ὸς] Σωσάννας οἱ τέσσαρες πεδιοφύ-
 λακες ὁρμώμενοι ἀπὸ κώμης Τερύθως
 τοῦ Ὀξυρ[υ]γχίτου νομοῦ χαίρειν. ὁμολο-
 کوῦμεν ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ
 τῆς ὑμῶν μεγαλοπρ(επείας) ἀπὸ νομισματίων
 20 δύο λόγῳ τοῦ ἡμῶν μισθοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς
 παραφυλακῆς ἣν ποιούμεν ἔν τε
 τῇ αὐτῆς μηχανῇ καλουμένη Θαλασσέρω-
 τος καὶ ἐν τῷ ταύτης ἀγρῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ
 τῆς παρούσης ἑκτῆς ἰνδικτίονος
 25 [. .]ε[. . .] . . . σου [. .]ε[. .] . . [. .] .
-

4 ὑπατιαν pap., *l.* ὑπατεῖαν 8 ὑῳ pap. 14 υἱος pap. 17-18 *l.*
 ὁμολο|γοῦμεν 19 απο corr. from απ. pap. 20 ὑπερ pap. 23 perhaps [[καὶ]]
 ὑπέρ, ὑπερ pap. 24 ἰνδικτιονος pap.

“In the thirty-first year of the reign of our most godly and most pious mas-
 ter Flavius Justinianus the eternal *augustus* and *imperator*, in the sixteenth year
 after the consulship of Flavius Basilius, ⁵ *vir clarissimus*, Pharmouthi four, of
 the sixth indiction. To Flavius Serenus, *magnificentissimus et spectabilis comes*
sacri consistorii, son of Martyrios of splendid memory, landholder here ¹⁰ in
 the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, the Aurelii Gounthos son of Phoibam-

mon, whose mother is (N.N.), and Pekysis son of Pamouthius, whose mother is Gountha, Valerius son of Mestos, whose mother is Sophia, and Georgios son of Gounthos,¹⁵ whose mother is Sosanna, four field-guards originating from the village of Terythis in the Oxyrhynchite nome, greetings.

We agree, upon mutual surety, that we have received from your magnificence (the whole) of ²⁰ 2 gold *solidi* in the account of our pay for the surveillance duty which we are performing both in (the area of) your irrigation-machinery called “Sealust” and in its field and for the present sixth indiction ²⁵ | ...”

1-5 The extant portions of the dating formula (e.g. the emperor and Basilus’ names, month, day, and indiction) are sufficient to restore the missing details (i.e. the regnal and postconsular years¹¹). Visible traces and the size of the lacuna are consistent with the formula, though the supplement for line 4 requires sixteen letters, which is slightly larger than the range (9-14 letters) in the other lines.

7-8 Serenus’ title (*comes sacri consistorii*) indicates a lofty position in Egyptian society,¹² which is consistent with the portfolio of properties to which this contract and the many leases in the family dossier attest: although Eulogius was an Aurelius in 440, a little over a century later his descendants were prominent landholders. *P.Oxy.* 1.140 is the indispensable parallel text: written approximately eight years prior, it contains the titulature for both Serenus and his father Martyrios in the epistolary preamble as appears in lines 6-10. For the Greek συνέδριον (= *consistorium*), cf. *P.Oxy.* 50.3585.2 (V); and *P.Heid.* 4.331.4 (465).

10-16 Four parties to the contract are listed, the names of whose mothers and fathers are provided for the record in the usual format, as is their home village of Oxyrhynchite Terythis and their profession (see further commentary on 15-16, 16 below). The four may include a father-son team; the first named (and senior) πεδιοφύλαξ is Gounthos, while the fourth (and junior) is Georgios, son of Gounthos. For the second πεδιοφύλαξ, a genitive matronym in -νθα is required, and, despite being unattested, the name Γουνθάς fits the space and the traces. The feminine form of the familiar name suggests that there may be further family ties above and beyond the father-son team, that protection was a family business, and that the four (and their relations) were relocating from Terythis in order to become resident laborers for Serenus.¹³

¹¹ See *CSBE*², pp. 150, 252.

¹² See *CPR* 24, pp. 68-71.

¹³ Relocation and residency would be consistent with the interpretation of the contract as a παραμονή: see n. 21 below. On resident labor assigned to specific plots, see

15-16 The stated profession of the Aurelii is “field-guard” (πεδιοφύλαξ), and the job they are being contracted to perform is subsequently confirmed as “protection” (παραφυλακῆς, l. 21). But the distinction between πεδιοφύλακες and the related profession ἀγροφύλακες is not clear. Danielle Bonneau argued on the basis of the difference between a πεδῖον (inundated plain) and an ἀγρός (artificially irrigated land) that nomenclature and geography were coherent (i.e. that a πεδιοφύλαξ guards a πεδῖον, and an ἀγροφύλαξ an ἀγρός).¹⁴ This interpretation, however, is belied by lines 21-23, which indicate that our πεδιοφύλακες have been contracted to protect an irrigation-machine (μηχανή) and an ἀγρός. Bonneau, rather, is likely closer to the mark in arguing that ἀγροφύλακες are never private employees vis-à-vis estates:¹⁵ the πεδιοφύλακες here, by contrast, are certainly contracted to Serenus.

16 Terythis lies to the east of Oxyrhynchus in the nome’s fourth *pagus* and possessed a harbor on the Nile.¹⁶

17-20 The body of the contract begins by combining the legalizing language of a loan (ὁμολοκοῦμεν... ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖναι) and a reference to the wages of the πεδιοφύλακες (λόγῳ τοῦ ἡμῶν μισθοῦ). The latter explains the former: although the duration of the contracted labor is never specified, two *solidi* cannot be an annual wage for four workers.¹⁷ It is more likely an advance of a month’s salary (perhaps to fund their activities), hence the stipulation of receipt.¹⁸ That μισθός can only refer to labor is important because it

J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford 2001) 182-184.

¹⁴ See D. Bonneau, “Ἀγροφύλαξ (*agrophylax*)”, in *Pap.Congr. XVIII* (1988) 2.303-315.

¹⁵ Bonneau (n. 14) 312. See, e.g., *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67001, and the discussion of J.G. Keenan, “Village Shepherds and Social Tension in Byzantine Egypt,” *YCS* 28 (1985) 254-259. On the bureaucracy of the Late Antique estate and the specialization of its workforce, see Banaji (n. 13) 186-189.

¹⁶ *SB* 14.11272. See also J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 1996) xiv, 8-13; A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome: A Papyrological Survey*² (Leuven 2012) 391-393, available online at <http://www.trismegistos.org/top.php>. For the location of Oxyrhynchite Terythis, see A. Benaissa, “Terythis and Darhut: Reconsideration of a Topographical Problem,” *ZPE* 171 (2009) 181-185.

¹⁷ Divided four ways, the wage is paltry: see the calculations for the mid-sixth century by F. Morelli, *Olio e retribuzioni nell’Egitto tardo (V-VIII d. C.)* (Florence 1996) 160-161. Cf. *SPP* 22.219 (604), where the annual salary for a shepherd boy in a παραμονή contract is specified as a *solidus*, plus seven artabas and six ξέσται of oil.

¹⁸ 2 *solidi* x 12 months = 24 *solidi* per annum ÷ 4 πεδιοφύλακες = 6 *solidi* each per annum. For salary being used to fund professional activity, see Morelli (n. 17) 39.

determines, by extension, the interpretation of the loan formula.¹⁹ The contract is certainly not a *προχρεία* – a loan of wages in advance – because the account is not labeled as such.²⁰ Advance payment is not unusual in a labor contract, particularly if the *πεδιοφύλακες* were relocating and taking up residency.²¹

18 The contract's stipulation of mutual surety (ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης) is consistent with the multiplicity of *πεδιοφύλακες* who are therein collectively indebted to Serenus:²² should one of the four die or abandon the job with the wages in hand, the others are liable.

19 The abstract title by which Serenus is addressed does not denote a particular office, but is used generally for all senatorial grades.

19-20 ἀπὸ τῶν νομισματίων | δύο complicates the document's financial transaction: although it would appear to indicate partition, the portion of the two *solidi* received by the *πεδιοφύλακες*, like the term of their contracted labor, is never specified. It is easier to interpret the text as follows: Serenus has deposited (and the four *πεδιοφύλακες* have withdrawn) that entire sum out of their wage account in advance, i.e., understand ἀπεσχηκέναι. The contract is for Serenus' security: the penalties for dereliction (if any were specified) are presumably lost where the text breaks off.

21-23 μηχαναί abound in the sixth century, at which point their design was perfected.²³ The Greek term refers to the pot-garland, animal-driven water-wheel known commonly by its Arabic name *saqiya*. It can also refer to the plot of land it irrigates,²⁴ but in light of the contract's language – the work

¹⁹ For μισθός as wages paid for labor, see F. Morelli, “Τιμή ε μισθός: vendita e prestazione di lavoro. Osservazioni sulle relazioni economiche tra artigiani e proprietà nell'Egitto bizantino,” *Comunicazioni* 2 (1997) 7-29.

²⁰ On *προχρεῖαι*, see *P.Heid.* 5, pp. 276-284. One expects the account to be described as specifically for *προχρεία*: see, e.g., *P.Köln* 2.102 (418); *P.Grenf.* 1.59 (V/VI); *P.Prag.* 1.34 (VI); *P.Oxy.* 1.206 (535); *P.Iand.* 3.48 (582); *P.Oxy.* 58.3943-3946 (606).

²¹ It is possible that, later in the contract, the residency of the *πεδιοφύλακες* was required, and that the contract is a *παραμονή*, but this cannot be determined from the extant text. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 1.140.25 (550) – from the same dossier – where *παραμονή* is stipulated only towards the end of the document, after an advance of earnest money is acknowledged. As is noted in *P.Heid.* 5, p. 291, that text is the first extant *παραμονή* contract.

²² See A. Segrè, “L'ἀλληλεγγύη (continuazione),” *Aegyptus* 5 (1924) 191.

²³ D. Bonneau, “L'administration de l'irrigation dans les grands domaines en Égypte au IV^e siècle de n.è.,” in *Pap.Congr. XII* (1970) 46-47.

²⁴ D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine, et byzantine* (Leiden 1993) 105-115, 220-226; M. Malouta and A. Wilson, “Mechanical

takes place “in the area of” (ἐν) the machine and “in” its plot (ἐν τῷ ταύτης ἀγρῷ) – there is little room for confusion: μηχανή, as distinct from the ἀγρός, refers to the irrigation-machinery itself. The pronoun αὐτῆς refers to Serenus’ μεγαλοπρέπεια (i.e. “its” = “yours”) while the demonstrative ταυτῆς refers more probably to the μηχανή itself.

The practice of naming the device or the plot is almost exclusive to the Oxyrhynchite nome,²⁵ and is common from the mid-fifth century on. In this case, the name “of Sealust” potentially has a literary heritage: Sealust is a character in a pair of Alciphron’s *Letters of Fishermen*, a fictitious corpus that betrays the influence of Greek comedy.²⁶ Bureaucratically speaking, names vastly facilitate the management of a large estate, which no doubt explains their preponderance in an era dominated by such estates. No parallel contract involving πεδιοφύλακες survives,²⁷ but there are two reasons why it is not particularly surprising: for one, as numerous receipts for replacement parts indicate, μηχαναί were prone to break down;²⁸ and even when they were well maintained, vandalism and theft (even by one’s own staff) remained a concern.²⁹ Serenus’ decision to hire four πεδιοφύλακες reflects a managerial desire to ensure the estate’s achievement of satisfactory agricultural yields.³⁰

23 The second καί in the line complicates the syntax. In the absence of the text lost following line 25, which may have included additional clauses (e.g. other contractual conditions, specification of παραμονή, financial penalties for dereliction) its proper rendering is unknown.

Irrigation: Water-lifting Devices in the Archaeological Evidence and in the Egyptian Papyri,” in A. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds.), *The Roman Agricultural Economy: Organization, Investment, and Production* (Oxford 2013) esp. 296-302; D.W. Rathbone, “*Mēchanai* (Waterwheels) in the Roman Fayyum,” in M. Capasso and P. Davoli (eds.), *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum* (Lecce 2007) 254-256.

²⁵ The exception comes from the Heracleopolite nome: *T. Varie* 14 (VI). On the names of irrigation-machinery, see Bonneau (n. 23) 51-52.

²⁶ Alciphron 1.21-22.

²⁷ Cf. *P.Heid.* 5.347 (VI); 5.348 (VI/VII).

²⁸ See the list in L.E. Tacoma, “Replacement Parts for an Irrigation Machine of the Divine House at Oxyrhynchus. P.Columbia inv. 83, October 12, AD 549 (?),” *ZPE* 120 (1998) 128-129, to which can be added *P.Oxy.* 67.4615; 68.4696-4697; 69.4755; and 70.4780-4785, 4788-4789, 4793, 4796-4801. See also Bonneau (n. 24) 226-230; Bonneau (n. 23) 48-49. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 9.1220.18-20 (III), in which an agent warns his master about neglecting the μηχαναί; and *P.Mil.* 42 (= *SB* 6.9638) (VI).

²⁹ See e.g. *P.Oxy.* 1.139 (612).

³⁰ On the larger political and fiscal importance of keeping irrigation-machinery in good working order, see Bonneau (n. 24) 230-234.

A Byzantine Monastic Letter at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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Abstract

Edition of a monastic letter from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, probably found at the Theban monastic complexes associated with Epiphanius and Kyriakos.

The text published here is a private letter, likely from the so-called monastery of Epiphanius, and now kept in the Department of Medieval Art at the Metropolitan Museum, whose staff have kindly allowed me to consult it in person.¹ This light brown papyrus is complete, with some surface damage. The main text is written along the fibers. The letter is addressed on the back in the same hand, where an ink sealing pattern has also been added.² Creases in the surface indicate folding: the papyrus was folded twice along the horizontal axis from both top and bottom to form a broad, short bundle with the address facing outwards. Two blots of ink visible on the front, in the bottom margin, are probably offsets. No information on provenance has been recorded,³ but the accession number suggests that the piece came from the excavations sponsored

¹ In particular I thank Christine Brennan, Hannah Korn, and Thomas Vinton for arranging access to the collection and associated archival material. I am also grateful to Todd Hickey, Sam Slattery, and Jim Keenan for advice on readings, as well as the editorial board and anonymous referees of *BASP* for further helpful comments. The photograph of the front is credited to Thomas Vinton, Department of Medieval Art, Metropolitan Museum, and that of the back to Yana van Dyke, Department of Paper Conservation.

² On this pattern, drawn over the string originally tied around the letter and intended to prevent tampering, in place of a seal-impression in clay, see the commentary to line 10.

³ At one time the piece was mounted in a frame where it was labeled “unidentified, envelope F.”

by the Museum at the monastic site near Thebes known as the monastery of Epiphanius.⁴ The content fits this provenance.

The text is a curious note requesting that the addressee, Kyros, who is addressed in reverential terms, receive from the carrier of the letter a κανών, for the identification of which see the commentary on line 4, and record the death of an Apa Isaac.⁵ The sender, Kyriakos, cites the latter circumstance to explain why Isaac did not come to meet Kyros in person. At least one Apa Isaac is known to have resided at the monastery of Epiphanius,⁶ and an epitaph for a monk of the same name was also found there,⁷ but given that the letter was properly folded, addressed, and sealed, it is more likely to have been sent to the

⁴ On the monastery in general, see the publications of the original excavation, H.E. Winlock, W.E. Crum, and H.G. Evelyn-White, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* (New York 1926), 2 vols.; and more recently, L.S.B. MacCoull, "Prophethood, Texts, and Artifacts: The Monastery of Epiphanius," *GRBS* 39 (1998) 307-324; S. Bucking, "Scribes and Schoolmasters? On Contextualizing Coptic and Greek Ostraca Excavated at the Monastery of Epiphanius," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 9 (2007) 21-47. The accession number confirms at the very least that the present piece was registered in the same year (1914) and the same provenance-group (1) as a large number of texts from the Epiphanius excavations. The highest accession number for published texts from these excavations is 14.1.556 (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 633), but the winnowing scoop accession 14.1.569 is surely identical with the one pictured in Pl. XXa (far right) of *Epiphanius*, vol. 1. Accessions 14.1.575-625 are miscellaneous small papyrus fragments catalogued as "seventh century" with Theban origin, primarily Coptic, some in literary hands, e.g. 14.1.593 at lower right, 14.1.595 at upper left, 14.1.617 at upper right. On the accession numbers in general see E.R. O'Connell, "Ostraca from Western Thebes: Provenance and History of the Collections at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and at Columbia University," *BASP* 43 (2006) 113-137.

⁵ The combination of μακάριος and ἀπόλλυσθαι in lines 6-7 strongly suggests death rather than merely a missing person; see further the commentary to line 7. The form of the record is not specified; aside from archives, we might compare the numerous epitaphs (Winlock, Crum, and Evelyn-White [n. 4] 1.8-9) and other inscriptions recording names found at the site, in both Coptic and Greek (frequently but not exclusively in the first person, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 637-655, 659-702); also perhaps *P.Mon.Epiph.* 197, a short Coptic letter on an ostrakon asking the addressee to "write my name also" (ΔΡΙ ΤΑΚΑΠΗ ΝΓΕΖΔΙ ΠΑΡΑΝ ΖΩΤ ΟΝ).

⁶ Coptic letters sent by an Apa Isaac: *P.Mon.Epiph.* 103, 160, 167, 316, 317, 401, 407, 459, 491; sent to same: *P.Mon.Epiph.* 105, 110, 118, 145, 146, 169, 188, 211, 223, 241, 247, 255, 261, 279, 285, 296, 306, 318, 356, 375, 385, 400. An Apa Isaac may have lived in the quarters identified as "Cell C" (Winlock, Crum, and Evelyn-White [n. 4] 1.44, nn. 5-6): in the Coptic letters *P.Mon.Epiph.* 354 and 356, an Apa Isaac is asked to send linen garments, probably woven on looms for which sockets survive, cut into the rock in this cell.

⁷ Winlock, Crum, and Evelyn-White (n. 4) 1.8.

site from outside, rather than prepared there and abandoned before sending. It may also be possible to identify the sender with a known monk, the Apa Kyriakos around whom a nearby monastic community was organized on the same hill as that of Epiphanius, termed by the excavators the “monastery of Cyriacus.”⁸ The name of the addressee, Kyros, is also found in a Greek graffito in “cell B” of the Epiphanius site.⁹ None of these names, however, is rare enough to allow conclusive identifications.

Besides the content, the piece is noteworthy for its choice of language. A few other Greek letters were found at the site, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 624-629, along with literary texts, but Coptic was in general the primary language of communication.¹⁰ There is in fact some evidence for bilingual interference from Coptic in the present text, which is discussed in the commentary.¹¹ The hand, a practiced but not especially elegant cursive, could be dated to the fifth or sixth centuries.¹² The context suggested above would narrow this range to the sixth: the monastic occupation of the Epiphanius site in general appears to have extended from the sixth to the seventh centuries.¹³ Trema and apostrophe are in use; the former has an alternate form in which the two dots coalesce into a horizontal bar, as appears in e.g. *P.Oxy.* 16.1637.12 and 25 ὑπαρχοντα and 24 ἱσου).

MMA acc. 14.1.602d

H x W = 8.0 x 13.0 cm

Thebes (?), VI AD

front (→)

† ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς καὶ προσκυνῇ κ[α]ὶ τὰ ἱ-
 χνη τῶν ὑποδημάτων ὑμῶν καὶ πάντων
 τῶν ὄντων μεθ’ ὑμῶν κατ’ ὄν[ο]μα.
 καταξίωσον οὖν λαβεῖν τὸ καγὰ γ[α] παρὰ

⁸ See Winlock, Crum, and Evelyn-White (n. 4) 1.15-18. Excavations at the site have been resumed by a Hungarian mission (T.A. Bács, “The So-Called ‘Monastery of Cyriacus’ at Thebes,” *Egyptian Archaeology* 17 [2000] 34-46), and a few texts have been published, notably an amphora inscribed with text from a homily of Shenoute (A. Hasznos, “A Shenute Homily Found in Theban Tomb 65,” *Enchoria* 30 [2006-2007] 7-10). The latter editor refers to “numerous monastic letters” found in the new excavations, but unfortunately none has so far been published.

⁹ *P.Mon.Epiph.* 689.3, Κῖρ(ον).

¹⁰ Cf. Winlock, Crum, and Evelyn-White (n. 4) 1.256.

¹¹ Cf. N. Gonis, “Some Curious Prescripts (Native Languages in Greek Dress?),” *BASP* 42 (2005) 41-44.

¹² Cf. *BGU* 2.609 (Schubart, *PGB* #42b, AD 441), *BGU* 4.1094 (Schubart, *PGB* #45, AD 525).

¹³ Winlock, Crum, and Evelyn-White (n. 3) 1.98-103.

- 5 τοῦ γραμματηφόρου καὶ τοῦτο ἀναγκαίως
 γράψῃ {τ} ἢ σὴ εὐλάβεια ὅτι ὁ μακάρι[ο]ς ἄπα
 Ἰσακ ἀπόλοιτο ἀπὸ ἕκτη τοῦ μηνὸς τούτ[ου]
 διὰ τούτου οὐκ ἐδυνήθη βαλεῖν σκυλμὸν
 καὶ ἀπαντῆσαι τὸν ἄγγελον ὑμῶν, δέσποτα. †

back (↓)

- 10 † ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ ἀγαπητ(ῳ) μου ἀδελφ(ῳ) *sealing* Κύρω π(αρά)
 Κυριακ[οῦ] ἀδελφ(οῦ).

1 ὑμας pap., *l.* προσκυνῶ 1-2 ἰχνη pap. 2 ὑπο- pap., ὑμων pap. 3 ὑμων pap. 4 *l.* τὸν κανόνα 7 ἰσακ pap., *l.* ἀπόλλυτο or ἀπόλοιτο, *l.* ἕκτης 9 ἀγ' γελον pap., ὑμων pap. 10 ἐπιδ/, ἀγαπητ, ἀδελφ/, π/, ἀδελφ/ pap.

“I greet you and kiss even the prints of your shoes and those of all the ones who are with you, by name. Please receive the *kanon* from the letter-carrier, and may your reverence duly write this: ‘the blessed Apa Isak was lost since the sixth of this month.’ Because of this he was unable to take the trouble and come to your angel, master.”

(back) “Deliver to my beloved brother Kyros, from brother Kyriakos.”

1 προσκυνῇ (*l.* προσκυνῶ): the form may be due to the influence of Coptic conjugation (e.g. †ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗ or †ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΕΙ; cf. Förster, *WB* s.v. προσκυνέω).

2 ὑποδημάτων: a novel addition to Byzantine prescript formulae; cf., e.g., *P.Grenf.* 2.91.1-2 πρὸ πάντων γράφω προσκυνῶν καὶ ἀσπαζόμενος τὰ τίμια ἰχνη τῶν ποδῶν τῆς ὑμετέρ(ας) πατρικῆς ἀγιωσύνης.

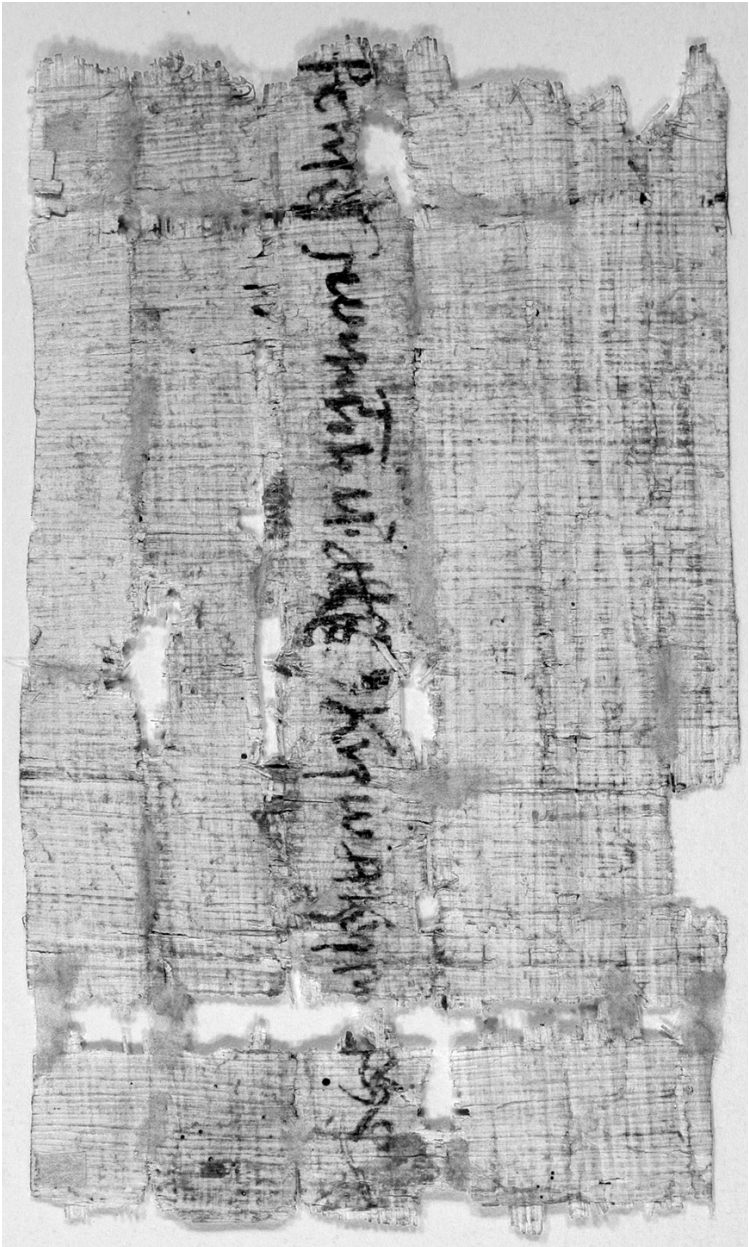
2 καί: there is blotting of the ink around κ.

3 τῶν: the ω has been overwritten.

– ὑμῶν κατ': there are stray blots of ink above ω and τ.

4 καγών[α]: the first ν is written wide (cf. σκυλμὸν in 8, at the end of a line) and with more upward curvature at the beginning of its diagonal than usual. The term κανὼν, in a monastic context, most likely denotes a written copy of a rule of conduct for monks; a more general ecclesiastical regulation, or even the content of a liturgical office cannot be ruled out (G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* [Oxford 1968], s.v.), though I know of no other attestations in the papyri of this kind of delivery of such a text. For the sending of books to residents at the site, accompanied by letters, see, e.g., *P.Mon.Epiph.*

[illegible]



back

381, 162.26, and 373.31. The word could also have its more literal sense, referring to some kind of rod or staff, perhaps specifically with a measuring function; cf. the Coptic letter *O.Crum* 366 with Förster, *WB* s.v. κανών 3. Because of the construction with λαμβάνειν here, the specific sense of receiving a ration of provisions through the Church, attested in Coptic as ⲭⲓ ⲕⲁⲛⲱⲛ or similar (Förster, *WB* s.v. κανών 5), is also possible.

5 γραμματηφόρον: on letter-carriers mentioned in letters from the monastery of Epiphanius see Winlock, Crum, and Evelyn-White (n. 4) 1.125-126 and 179-189; also A. Biedenkopf-Ziehner, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Briefformular unter Berücksichtigung ägyptischer und griechischer Parallelen* (Würzburg 1983) 12.

6 γράψη: on the jussive subjunctive see Mandilaras, *Verb* §§554-561, especially §558.

– {τ}: the reason for the erroneous letter is unclear. The writer may have begun to write the polite second person plural γράψητε (cf. *P.Rain.Cent.* 78.3 ἔγραψεν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ λαμπρότητι ἵνα γράψητε), then opted for the singular form with abstract honorific subject instead, without cancelling the τ. Bilingual interference involving the Coptic feminine definite article τ-, notionally applied to the following εὐλάβεια, is another possibility. Compare *O.Douch* 5.611.3-4 τμοναχῇ for τῇ μοναχῇ, and *P.Herm.* 10.2 παναχωρητῆς for ὁ ἀναχωρητῆς. Also to be considered are an intended nominative τῇ from reanalysis of τῆς, etc. (cf. Gignac, *Gram.* 2.173, “the nom. pl. masc. τοῖ [in *W.Chr.* 354.22] is an isolated blunder in view of the very frequent οἱ”), or a mistaken writing of the dative for the nominative case, though at this period the reverse would seem more likely.

Alternatively, the τ could be preserved by supposing that the writer’s intention was different, a dative instead of a nominative, τῇ σῇ εὐλαβείᾳ, and that γραψη stood for γράφω (Coptic Ⲯⲣⲁϣⲉ, cf. line 1 and commentary), i.e. τοῦτο ἀναγκαίως γράφω, “of necessity I write.” I have preferred the printed reading to this possibility, however, because the hypothetical underlying Coptic infinitive form is not attested (nor is Ⲯⲣⲁϣⲉ: Förster, *WB* s.v. γράφω) and a considerable distance separates the present phrase from any unambiguous first-person form, which would make comprehension rather difficult.

7 ἀπόλοιτο: imperfect indicative (ἀπώλλυτο) is more likely to have been intended than aorist optative (ἀπόλοιτο). Substitution of optative for indicative in indirect discourse, though not in itself impossible for this period (Mandilaras, *Verb* §§651-652), would generally require a true past tense main verb, unless the aorist aspect of γράψη were misunderstood as such. Here ἀπόλλυμι probably refers specifically to death. Compare the description of

a violent conflict in fourth-century Lykopolis in *P.Got.* 13.7-8 αὐτῷ πάντες προσήχθησαν ὡς καὶ ὁλ[ίγου] δεῖν ἅπτον ἄπολλυσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν π[ο]λιτῶν σου, “they all attacked him [“tout le monde le traitait,” *ed. pr.*] such that he nearly perished at the hands of your fellow citizens.” The application of μακάριος to the subject also points in this direction; cf., e.g., *P.Oxy.* 75.5069.7-8 ἀπελευθέρω τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου; *P.Pintaudi* 19v.1 υἱοῦ τοῦ μακαρ(ίου) Μηῶ; Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. E 1; and for funerary stelai, J. Pelsmaekers, “Een korte bemerking bij de vertaling van de term μακάριος,” *BIBR* 58 (1988) 5-9.

– μηνὸς τούτ[ου]: σ and τ and ο and υ are in ligature. If the line were in fact complete as preserved, it would be possible to read Τοῦτ as a form of the month name Θῶθ, though that particular variant is not to my knowledge attested in Greek (cf. Coptic θοογτ with by-forms θογτ, τοογτ: Kasser, *Compléments* s.v. θοογτ).

8-9 βαλεῖν σκυλμὸν καὶ ἀπαντῆσαι: cf. the Coptic letters *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163.10, 172.8-11, 217.7-12, 301.12-13, which use σκυλμος as a loanword in requests in the same sense, “take the trouble,” often coupled with a request that the addressee come in person.

The use of βάλλω is strange, if not a corruption (e.g. a transposition for λαβεῖν). Elsewhere in the Greek papyri, σκυλμός is used with ὑπομένω, e.g. *SB* 16.12980.2. I note that two of the Coptic letters from the site construe it with βωκ, for which βάλλω could plausibly be a calque: *P.Mon.Epiph.* 217.7 and 301.12-13; cf. Crum, *Dict.* s.v. II, “put into, add to, send” and the specialized sense for which he cites (only) *P.Mon.Epiph.* 301; further Förster, *WB* s.v. σκυλμός.

For ἀπαντάω with the accusative cf. *P.Apoll.* 45.10 ἀπαντήσω ὑμᾶς. In *P.Abinn.* 7.10 ἡθέλω γὰρ ἀπαντήσῃ σοι, the edd. normalize as ἐθέλω γὰρ ἀπαντῆσαι σοι, but ἡθέλο(ν) γὰρ ἀπαντῆσαι σε should also be considered.

9 τὸν ἄγγελον ὑμῶν. This honorific appears frequently in Coptic letters from the Epiphanius site, used exclusively in addressing monks (e.g. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 241.5-6 †αϣⲡⲁⲗⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲗⲁⲃ). See further Förster, *WB* s.v. ἄγγελος 2. In Greek letters, it occurs in *P.Rain.Cent.* 126.6, where it is apparently applied to a bishop (ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ χρεωστοῦμεν τῷ αὐτοῦ ἀγγέλῳ, “since we are greatly indebted to his angel [after P.J. Sijpesteijn, “Nachlese zu Wiener Texten II,” *ZPE* 56 (1984) 96; “seinem Boten (?)” *ed. pr.*],” the antecedent of αὐτοῦ most likely being [ὁ θε]οφιλέστατος ἐπίσκοπος ἅπα Τιμόθεος in 2); *P.Köln* 4.191.1, where the context is uncertain; *SB* 10.10522.10-11 καταξίωση τοίνυν ὁ σὸς ἀγαθὸς ἄγγελος κατορθῶσαι τοῦτο, “may your good angel deign to carry this out,” where the identity of the addressee is uncertain, but the sender refers to οἱ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου μοναστη[ρί]ῳ, “those in your holy monastery,”

at lines 16-17; and SB 10.10269 (P.CtYBR inv. 1773, with corrections of H.C. Youtie, “P. Yale inv. 1773,” *ZPE* 16 [1975] 259-264), line 3 ἐπροσδόκων ἐλθῖν καὶ προσκινῆσε τὸν ὑμῶν ἄγγελον and 4-5 κ[ατα]ξ[ιώσα]τε ὁ ὑμῶν ἄγγελος εὐξασθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, with Youtie’s commentary, who identifies a reference to a guardian angel attached to the addressee (parallels in patristic authors conveniently summarized in Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. II H 10 c). For the persistence of this form of address in medieval epistolography in both Greek and Latin, see the commentary in *PKöln* 4.191. I note also a Coptic letter on an ostrakon from Thebes sent by the *hegumen* and residents of a monastery to a local landowner, who is promised the blessing of “the angel of the desert monastery” in exchange for his continued benefactions (ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲭⲁⲓⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ, *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 1 pl. 63 no. 3 [inv. EA 21393], reverse lines 3-7). The “angelic” conduct of the addressee might conceivably have been meant (cf. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. II O), but in that case we would expect an abstract noun such as ἀγγελιότης, cf. εὐλάβεια above in line 6. Youtie further suggests that the Ammonios in the Yale letter, for whom the respectful second person plural is used, as in our text, was the head of a monastery. Note that the “symbol” to which *ed. pr.* refers (no further commentary in Youtie), after the second sigma of θεοσεβessάτω in the address on the back, is in fact a sealing pattern (i.e. θεοσεβessάτω pap.); cf. K. Vandorpe, “Seals in and on the Papyri of Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt,” in M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi (eds.), *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique - Archivi e sigilli nel mondo ellenistico*. Torino, Villa Gualino, 13-16 Gennaio 1993 (Paris 1996) 231-291. A similar pattern appears in the letter *P.Oxy.* 59.4005 (Vandorpe catalogue #169, “double pattern type ?”). There is also a *kollesis* visible on the front running along the length of the piece, c. 9 cm from the top. I have confirmed both observations on a digital image made available by the Beinecke Library.

10 ἀδελφ(ῶ): the δ and ε are quite compressed, and the φ is partially obscured by the overlapping sealing pattern. A similar sealing pattern is used in SB 10.10269, adduced above as a comparandum (9n), as well as in *P.Oxy.* 16.1836 and 1838 and 58.3932 (confirmed via digital images). On this device, which replaced clay seal-impressions for the sealing of letters beginning in the Roman period, see Vandorpe (as in the preceding note) 241-243.

Un contrat de prêt copte du monastère d'apa Apollô à Baouît conservé à la collection Palau-Ribes

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Abstract

Edition of a Coptic loan contract on papyrus from the Palau-Ribes collection in Barcelona, P.Palau-Rib. inv. 354.

La collection Palau-Ribes de Barcelone abrite plus de 2000 manuscrits, dont les plus anciens datent du VIII^e siècle av. J.-C. et les plus récents du X^e siècle ap. J.-C. Les textes sont écrits en égyptien hiéroglyphique, démotique et copte, en grec et en latin, en hébreu, en arabe et en syriaque.¹ Ces pièces ont été achetées dans les années 1960, lors de voyages en Égypte ou chez des antiquaires, par le Père jésuite Josep O'Callaghan. Ce dernier bénéficiait pour ce faire du mécénat de son beau-frère Josep Palau-Ribes i Casamitjana, qui a donné nom à la collection.

Une centaine de papyrus de la collection a été publiée; il s'agit pour l'essentiel de pièces grecques,² mais aussi de quelques textes écrits en copte.³

¹ Sur la collection, voir J. O'Callaghan, "El fondo papirológico Palau-Ribes (Sant Cugat del Vallés - Barcelona)," *Aula Orientalis* 2 (1984) 285-288, ainsi que le portail de papyrologie DVCTVS: *National Papyrological Funds* (<http://dvctvs.upf.edu/lang/es/colecciones.php>).

² La majeure partie des documents a été publiée dans la revue *Studia Papyrologica*, fondée par J. O'Callaghan en 1962 et éditée jusqu'en 1983. Deux monographies leur ont également été consacrées: J. O'Callaghan, *Papiros literarios griegos del Fondo Palau-Ribes (P.PalauRib.Lit.)* (Barcelone 1993) et S. Daris, *Papiri documentari greci del Fondo Palau-Ribes* (Barcelone 1995). Les textes publiés sont repris dans le catalogue en ligne du projet DVCTVS.

³ Cf. en part. B.E. Klakowicz, "Coptic Papyri in the Palau-Ribes Collection (inv. 39-41; 44; 51-52; 59; 84)," *Stud.Pap.* 20 (1981) 33-47.

Hormis quelques ostraca, déjà brièvement décrits,⁴ le versant copte de la collection Palau-Ribes contient plusieurs textes qui proviennent assurément du monastère de Baouît.⁵ Nous ne disposons malheureusement d'aucune information sur les modalités d'acquisition de ces pièces. Nous ignorons par exemple si elles faisaient partie d'un même lot. Tout au plus peut-on dire qu'elles furent acquises à un moment où de nombreuses pièces du monastère circulaient sur le marché des antiquités.⁶

Le texte que nous publions ici est un contrat de prêt; plusieurs éléments suggèrent qu'il provient de Baouît: la mention d'un monastère dédié à apa Apollô, le titre $\pi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, qui désigne usuellement un moine en Moyenne-Égypte, et le libellé de la date d'échéance, qui trouve un parallèle unique dans un autre contrat du monastère (voir ci-dessous). Le texte vient donc enrichir l'important dossier des contrats de prêt de Baouît.⁷

P.Palau-Rib. inv. 354

H x W 14,5 x 17,6 cm

Monastère d'apa Apollô (Baouît)

VII^e-VIII^e siècles

Coupon de papyrus rectangulaire de couleur brun clair. On distingue une *kollêsis* horizontale entre les lignes 9 et 10. Le texte est brisé à droite; il en manque la moitié environ. Les autres marges, très étroites, sont conservées.

⁴ S. Bartina, "Inventario de óstraca coptos (O. Palau Rib. inv. 1-26)," *Stud.Pap.* 5 (1966) 133-142; M.J. Albarrán Martínez, "Coptic Ostraca of the Palau-Ribes Collection. New Perspectives and Edition," in A. Camplani & P. Buzi (éd.), *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, 17-22 September 2012* (Paris-Louvain, sous presse).

⁵ *P.Bawit Clackson* 55, *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 26 et P.Palau Rib. inv. 352 (éd. M.J. Albarrán Martínez, "A New Coptic Text from Bawit: *P.Palau Rib.* Inv. 352," P. Schubert (éd.), *Actes du 26^e Congrès international de papyrologie, Genève, 16-21 août 2010* (Genève 2012) 7-10).

⁶ Un lot de papyrus qui contient des textes de Baouît a été offert ainsi à la Duke University par O.S. Wintermute en 1969 (cf. A. Delattre, "Un contrat de prêt copte du monastère de Baouît," *CÉ* 79 (2004) 385-386; cf. aussi *P.Bru.x.Bawit*, pp. 117-124).

⁷ Une liste des contrats de prêt grecs et coptes du monastère est établie dans *P.Bru.x.Bawit*, 257-259; voir aussi T. Markiewicz, "The Church, Clerics, Monks and Credit in the Papyri," A. Boud'hors, J. Clackson, C. Louis et P. Sijpesteijn (éd.), *Monastic Estates in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt. Ostraca, Papyri, and Essays in Memory of Sarah Clackson* (P. Clackson) (Cincinnati 2009) 178-204. Il faut y ajouter désormais P.Yale inv. 1747 (éd. A. Benaissa, "A Usurious Monk from the Apa Apollo Monastery at Bawit," *CÉ* 85 (2010) 374-381), *P.Clackson* 47, *SB Kopt.* IV 1794 et P.Clédât inv. 73 (éd. A. Delattre, "Nouveaux papyrus du monastère de Baouît," A. Boud'hors et C. Louis (éd.), *Études coptes XII. Quatorzième journée d'études (Rome, 11-13 juin 2009)* (Paris 2013) 61-75, n° 1).

L'encre est noire; quelques taches d'encre sont visibles au-dessus de la ligne 2 et sous la ligne 8. La croix de la première ligne se situait approximativement au centre du coupon (une deuxième croix a pu être notée dans la lacune de droite). Le document comporte dix lignes d'écriture au *recto*, perpendiculaires aux fibres, et deux lignes au *verso*, parallèles aux fibres (le texte est écrit *trans-versa charta*). Sans être professionnelle, l'écriture est fluide et régulière, avec quelques ligatures et abréviations.

Le papyrus porte le texte d'un contrat de prêt d'argent: Peg'ôch et sa mère ont emprunté de l'argent à Perêt, un moine du monastère de Baouît. Le résumé du *verso* suggère que Peg'ôch était également un moine, mais il ne porte pas ce titre dans le corps du texte. Il serait en outre étonnant de voir un moine effectuer une opération financière avec sa mère. Le titre de $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ utilisé dans le résumé est donc peut-être une erreur du rédacteur.

Peg'ôch et sa mère s'engagent à payer à Perêt un *holokottinos* et un *trimê-sion* pour une date précise, désignée comme la grande *agapê* (l. 5). Un contrat de prêt de la collection de Jean Clédât, le premier archéologue à avoir fouillé le site de Baouît (1901-1905), prévoit lui un remboursement pour la petite *agapê* du mois de Mekheir (P.Clédât inv. 73).⁸ Le nom du mois n'est malheureusement pas conservé dans le document de Barcelone, mais il est possible qu'il s'agisse du même mois: la présence d'une petite *agapê* de P.Clédât inv. 73 indique en effet qu'on en fêtait aussi une grande en Mekheir. Dans ce cas, quelle que soit la fête désignée sous le nom de petite *agapê*, la grande *agapê* de Mekheir devait certainement être la fête d'Apollô, le saint fondateur du monastère, qui avait lieu le 5.⁹ On ne peut bien sûr exclure qu'il soit question dans notre document de la grande *agapê* d'un autre mois.

↓ †

† Δ ΝΟΚ ΠΕΒΩΨ ΜΝ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΨΜ[Δ]ΑΥ ΕΝC2ΔΙ [ΝΠΑCΟΝ ΠΕΡΗΤ
 ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΜΠΤΟΠΟC ΜΦΑ-]
 ΓΙΟC ΔΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΧΕ ΕΠΙΤΗ [Δ]ΪΠΑΛΛΑΚ[ΔΛΕΪ ΝΜΟΚ ΔΚΤΙ ΝΑΪ ...]
 ΝΟΥΖΟΛΟΚ(ΟΤΤΙΝΟC) ΜΝ ΝΟΥΤΕΡΜΗCΕ ΝΗΟΥΒ ΝΑ[Ϊ ΟΥΝ ΖΝ
 ΠΟΥΨΩ ΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΕΝΟ/ΤΕΝΨΟΟΠ]
 5 ΝΖΕΤΟΪΜΟC ΤΗΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΚ Ψ[Δ Τ]ΝΟΒ ΝΑΚ[ΔΠΗ ΠΠΕΒΟΤ ...
 ΝΤΕΪΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΪ ...]
 ΙΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC) ΝΑΤΖΔΠ ΝΑΤΝΟΜΟC ΝΑΤ{[ΝΑ]Τ}ΛΑΔΥ

⁸ Cf. A. Delattre, "Nouveaux papyrus," 64-66. Nous renvoyons à cet article pour ce qui concerne les occurrences du mot avec l'acception de «fête» et l'identification possible de la petite *agapê*.

⁹ Pour la date de la fête à Baouît, cf. A. Delattre, "Remarques sur quelques inscriptions de Baouît," *BIFAO* 108 (2008) 69-81, en part. 69-71.

Ν[ΑΜΦΙΒΟΛΙΑ ΕΝΩΡΚ ΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ Π-]
 ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΜΝ ΠΕΥΧΑ[Ι] ΝΕΤΑΡΧΙΣ[ΘΑΪ ΕΧΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΑΙΡΟΣ
 ΝΙΜ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΝΩ ΠΑ-]
 ΛΑΒΕ ΝΜΟΚ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΡΜ ΕΠΙΧ[ΑΡ]ΤΗΣ ΝΘΗ [ΕΨΗ2 ΝΜΟΨ. ΔΝΟΚ
 ΠΕ6ΩΨ ΜΝ ΜΑΡΙΔ]
 ΝΕΝΤΑ<Υ>ΨΕΡΕΠ Σ2ΔΙ ΤΝΣΤΗΧΕ ΕΠ[Ι]ΧΑΡΤΝ Ν[ΘΗ ΕΨΗ2 ΝΜΟΨ.
 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ ...]
 10 [ΤΙΟ Ν]ΜΕΤΡΕ. ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΛΑΟΝΤΕ ΤΙΟ Ν[ΜΕΤΡΕ. ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ
 ...]
 ΔΪΣ2ΔΙ ΝΤΑΪΧ ΔΥΩ ΤΙΟ ΜΜΕΤΡ[Ε ...]

verso → † ΤΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑ ΝΠΑΣΟΝ ΠΕ6<Ω>Ψ ΕΨΣ2ΔΙ ΝΠΑ-
 ΣΟΝ ΠΕΡΗΤ. (*vacat*) Ν(ΟΜΙCΜΔ) Δ Γ'



2 μοναχός, τόπος 2-3 ἅγιος 3 ἐπειδή, παρακαλεῖν 4 ζολοϋ
 ραρ., ὀλοκόττινος, τριμήσιον, οὖν 5 νζέτοῖμος ραρ., ἔτοιμος, ἀγάπη, *l.*
 ΝΤΝΤΑΔΥ 6 ΙΝΔ ραρ., ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), νόμος, ἀμφιβολία 7 παντοκράτωρ,

ἀρχεσθαι, κατά, καιρός 7-8 παραβαίνειν 8 πρὸς, χάρτης 9 στοιχεῖν, χάρτης 12 ἀσφάλεια 13 νόμισμα

«†²† Moi Peg'ôch et Maria, sa mère, nous écrivons [au frère Perêt moine du monastère de]³ Saint apa Apollô: puisque je te l'ai demandé, [... tu m'as donné (?) ...]⁴ un *holokottinos* et un *trimèsion* d'or, cela [donc, par la volonté de Dieu, nous sommes]⁵ prêts à te le rendre pour la grande *agapê* [du mois de ... de cette année, la ...]⁶ indiction, sans jugement, sans loi, sans aucune [contestation. Nous jurons par Dieu]⁷ tout-puissant et par la santé de ceux qui nous gouvernent [à tout moment], que nous ne⁸ pourrions pas transgresser la validité du document, tel [qu'il est écrit. Moi Peg'ôch et Maria,]⁹ les susmentionnés, nous sommes d'accord avec ce document tel qu'il est écrit. [Moi, frère ...]¹⁰ je suis témoin. Moi, frère Laonte, je suis [témoin. Moi ...]¹¹ j'ai écrit de ma main et je suis témoin. (résumé au verso)¹² Le contrat de prêt de frère¹³ Peg'ôch, qui écrit au frère Perêt. 1 ½ *nomisma*.»



2 περητ: Le crédeur était moine du monastère d'apa Apollô en Baouît; ses nom et titre sont conservés dans le résumé du verso (12-13: πα|σον περητ). Pour la restitution de la ligne, cf. *P.Mon.Apollo* 1.33, 34, 36, 37, 41, 43 et 44. Plu-

sieurs moines du nom de Perêt sont attestés dans des inscriptions du monastère (cf. *MIFAO* 12, p. 112, n° XXXVI; p. 113, n° XLV; 151, n° V).

3 [Δ]ΠΑΛΛΑΚ[ΔΛΕΪ ΝΜΟΚ ΑΚΤΪ ΝΑΪ ...]: La formule d'emprunt la plus courante dans les contrats de prêt de Baouît est ΤΧΡΕΩΣΤΕΙ ΝΑΚ ΚΑΘΑΡΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΚΡΟΤΩΣ, «je t'emprunte clairement et sans fraude» (*P.Mon.Apollo* 1.33.2; 40.2-3; 43.3-4; 44.5; *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 34.2; *P.Clédât inv.* 73.2-3). Une autre formulation possible à Baouît est ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΑΚΤΙ ΝΑΙ, «puisque je t'ai demandé, tu m'as donné» (*P.Mon.Apollo* 1.41.5-6; *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 35.3-4), que l'on lit sans doute dans notre document. Normalement, on trouve ensuite la mention de l'objet du prêt. Pour remplir la lacune de la fin de la ligne 2, il faut imaginer que le scribe a indiqué le motif de l'emprunt ou qu'il a ajouté d'autres formules, comme par exemple celle que l'on trouve dans *CPR* 4.82, 3 (Hermopolite, VIII^e siècle) ΑΠΑΡΑΚΑΛ[ΕΙ Μ]ΜΟΚ ΑΚΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΪ ΝΤΑΧΡΙΑ ΝΑΝΑΓΚ .[, «je te l'ai demandé, tu m'as donné pour mon nécessaire besoin». On pourrait aussi songer à la formule ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΑΚΜΟΩΥΕ ΖΑ ΤΑΖΗ ΑΚΧΙ ..., «puisque je te l'ai demandé, tu es venu devant moi et tu m'as apporté...» (cf. p. ex. *O.Vind.Copt.* 29.4-6; *SB Kopt.* 1.270.8-9), mais elle n'est pas attestée en dehors de la région thébaine. On trouve quelques occurrences de la variante ΠΑΛΑΚΑΛΕΙ (pour ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ, cf. Förster, *WB*, p. 615-617; sur le lambdacisme dans la région d'Hermoupolis, voir *P.Bal.*, p. 97-99 et 125-126.

4 ΝΑ[Ι ΟΥΝ ΖΗ ΠΟΥΩΥ ΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΕΝΟ/ΤΕΝΩΟΟΗ]: La restitution se base sur *P.Mon.Apollo* 1.42.6-7; *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 35.6-7; *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.1022.6; *SB Kopt.* 3.1415.6.

5 Τ]ΝΟΘ ΝΑΚ[ΔΠΗ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ: L'échéance du remboursement est généralement exprimée par un jour, un mois et une année du cycle indictionnel. Dans notre papyrus, le prêt doit être remboursé pour la grande *agapê* (fête) d'un mois qui est en lacune. On trouve quelques parallèles dans la documentation, notamment à Baouît dans *P.Clédât inv.* 73. Si la grande *agapê* de notre texte a lieu le même mois que la petite *agapê* de *P.Clédât inv.* 73 (voir le comm. ci-dessus), on pourrait proposer de restituer la ligne ainsi: Υ[Δ Π]ΝΟΘ ΝΑΚ[ΔΠΗ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΝΜΩΪΡ ΝΤΕΪΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΪ ...], «pour la grande *agapê* du mois de Mekheir, de cette ... année».

7 ΝΕΤΑΡΧΙΣ[ΘΑΪ: La forme médio-passive ἄρχεσθαι, plutôt que l'actif ἄρχειν, ne se rencontre que dans un document du monastère: *P.Mon.Apollo* 1.41.14. On pourrait restituer ainsi les lignes 14-15 de ce document: ΕΙΩΡΚ ΝΠΝΟΥΤ[Ε ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ | ΜΝ Π]ΕΥΧΑΪ ΝΑΤΑΡΧΕΘ[ΑΙ ΕΧΩΝ, «je jure par Dieu tout-puissant et par la santé de ceux qui nous gouvernent».

7-8 [ΝΝΕΝΩ ΠΑ]|ΛΔΒΕ: Il faut reconnaître ici le verbe grec παραβαίνω, généralement emprunté en copte sous la forme ΠΑΡΑΒΑ (pour le lambdacisme, cf. l. 3 ΠΑΛΛΑΚ[ΑΛΕΪ]). La formule ΧΕ ΝΝΕΙΩ ΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΒΟΜ ..., «car je ne pourrai pas transgresser la validité ...», est habituelle dans les contrats de Moyenne-Égypte (cf. p.ex. *CPR* 4.24.12; 77.7).

10 ΛΔΟΝΤΕ: Un moine foulon nommé Laonte est attesté dans une inscription du monastère (*MIFAO* 12, p. 159, no. XXVIII). Il pourrait s'agir du même personnage.

13 Ν(ΟΜΙCΜΑ) Δ Γ': La lecture n'est pas claire; pour des dispositifs similaires, voir *P.Mon.Apollo* 1.34.7-8; 36.8.

Papyri, Archaeology, and Modern History: A Contextual Study of the Beginnings of Papyrology and Egyptology

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Abstract

The first discoveries of Greek papyri and the beginning of archaeological activities in Egypt after the foundation of the Service des Antiquités (1858) are examined here from the point of view of the cultural, economic, and political context that deeply influenced the birth and development of Papyrology and Egyptology. This perspective allows for a better understanding of the complex dynamics and the general circumstances that led to the discovery of antiquities and of the attitude toward the preservation of the cultural heritage in Egypt. *Sebbakhin* are often mentioned as the cause of casual finds in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but their activities were not the only ones that affected Egypt's archaeological heritage. The aim of this article is to enlighten the historical context in which archaeologists and papyrologists found themselves and the difficulties and contingencies they had to face.¹

¹This is an updated article that stems from a paper I gave as the Fifth Centre for Tebtunis Papyri Distinguished Visiting Lecturer (University of California, Berkeley) in 2006 and published at <http://tebtunis.berkeley.edu/lecture/arch>. I would like to express my gratitude to Todd Hickey, who invited me to Berkeley on that occasion, and to Randall Souza and Brendan Haug for the translation from the Italian. See also P. Davoli, "Papiri, archeologia e storia moderna," *Atene e Roma* 1/2 (2008) 100-124.

Although this article aims to survey new perspectives in considering the dynamics of archaeological and papyrological discoveries, it is certainly not exhaustive in considering all the places and circumstances of the finds. Examples of the consequences of *sebbakhin* activities at several sites are well described in D.M. Bailey, "Sebakh, Sherds and Survey," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 85 (1999) 211-218.

1. *The Cultural and Legal Context of the First Discoveries*

Nowadays Papyrologists, Egyptologists, and Archaeologists are well aware of the importance of the contextual study of archaeological and textual data.² However it is very common to observe that in publications of papyri and *ostraka* of the past decades this notion was not so common and the document's provenance and find contexts are not even mentioned. This lack of information is mainly due to a series of historical and practical reasons that affected the beginning of archaeological research in Egypt. The complete decontextualization of papyri, *ostraka*, and other objects was then a common practice, and the archaeological information did not reach the scholars who published the items.

Collections of papyri composed of a few dozen or of thousands of papyri are held throughout Europe and in the United States. These were created principally between the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, a period in which thousands of papyri were sold on the antiquities market in Egypt.³ Greek papyri were acquired only sporadically and in smaller numbers until the first great lot of papyri arrived in Cairo around 1877. This mass came from the ruins of ancient cities, like Krokodilopolis, the capital of the Fayyum (Medinet el-Fayyum), and Herakleopolis Magna (Ihnasiya el-Medina) in Middle Egypt to the south of the Fayyum. It was the first time that hundreds of documents written in Greek, Coptic, and Arabic reached the shops of antiquities dealers. We can only imagine how many other papyri were found, then destroyed by those who had no clear idea of their scientific and commercial value.⁴

About 10,000 papyri were acquired in 1881/2 by the National Library of Vienna, thanks to the foresight of Josef Karabaček (1845-1918), professor of Oriental History at the University of Vienna, and to the economic support of Archduke Rainer. These documents comprised the first collection of the Austrian National Library's Papyrussammlung, which today numbers around

² Among others R.S. Bagnall, *Papiri e storia antica* (ed. it. Roma 2007, 1st ed. London-New York 1995), Preface to the Italian edition, 7; P. van Minnen, "House-to-House Enquiries: an Interdisciplinary Approach to Roman Karanis," *ZPE* 100 (1994), 227-251.

³ For a brief history of the discoveries cf. M. Capasso, *Introduzione alla Papirologia* (Bologna 2005) 145-153; P. Davoli, *Archeologia e papiri* (Napoli 2001); W. Clarysse and H. Verreth (eds.), *Papyrus Collections Worldwide* (Brussels 2000); www.trismegistos.org; E.G. Turner, *Papiri Greci* (trad. it. Roma 1984, 1st ed. Oxford 1968) 37-60; E. Breccia, "Dove e come si trovano i papiri in Egitto," *Aegyptus* 16 (1936) 296-305.

⁴ Breccia (n. 3) 296-297. U. Wilcken, *Gründzuge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde* (Leipzig 1912) l.xvi-xxiii.

180,000 written documents.⁵ Karabaçek was one of the first scholars to understand the importance of this type of document, and he was able to acquire them through an antiquities dealer, Theodor Graf (1840-1903), who worked between Vienna and Cairo. Graf was one of the main protagonists of the Egyptian antiquities trade in that period: through his hands passed thousands of papyri and hundreds of the famous “Fayyum portraits,” not to mention the cuneiform tablets found by chance at Tell el-Amarna.⁶

In 1887 a new and substantial group of papyri arrived in Cairo from Soknopaiou Nesos, a site known today as Dime es-Seba, in the desert north of lake Qarun in the Fayyum.⁷ It primarily consisted of documents from the archive of the temple of the god Soknopaios. Unfortunately, since these texts were sold in lots to different museums and collections, we do not know exactly how many there were. The Roman necropolis of Philadelphiea in the Fayyum was also found and illegally excavated in 1887, and the numerous portraits painted on wooden boards that adorned the mummies were for the most part acquired by Graf.

Ostraka, parchments, and papyri were also discovered in unrecorded contexts until the end of the nineteenth century at Hermopolis, Panopolis, and in the Kharga oasis. The Museums of Berlin primarily acquired papyri from Soknopaiou Nesos, while E.A.W. Budge succeeded in acquiring for the British Museum, among other texts, four rolls of Aristotle’s *Athenian Constitution* found at Meir. The archive of Abinneus, a cavalry officer stationed at Dionysias (Qasr Qarun) in the Fayyum in the fourth century CE, was found in 1891/2, probably at Philadelphiea, and was then sold in different lots to the British Museum and to the University of Geneva.⁸ In addition, another important and considerable archive of Greek documents, the archive of Heroninos, was

⁵The first group of papyri is known as “1. Fayyumer Fund.” A second group of papyri was bought in 1883 (“2. Fayyumer Fund”): H. Loebenstein, “Vom ‘Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer’ zur Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. 100 Jahre Sammeln, Bewahren, Edieren,” in *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.)* (Wien 1983) 3-7.

⁶For the history of excavation and discoveries at Amarna cf. C. Aldred, “El-Amarna,” in T.G.H. James (ed.), *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982* (London 1982) 89-106.

⁷For the history of excavations and discoveries at Dime see M. Capasso, P. Davoli, “Introduzione: Dime in età moderna,” in M. Capasso, P. Davoli (eds.), *Soknopaiou Nesos Project I (2003-2009)* (Pisa-Roma 2012) 11-18.

⁸H.I. Bell et al. (eds.), *The Abinnaeus Archive: Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II* (Oxford 1962) 1-5.

sold in lots after being found at Theadelphia in 1901 and is today dispersed among different collections.⁹

The British papyrologists B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt state that until 1894 the market in Cairo was rich in papyri that came from various sites in the Fayyum, but that they began to become scarce beginning in that year.¹⁰ The antiquities market, illegal today but nonetheless booming, was free and legal in Egypt up to 1912, even though laws for the protection of antiquities had been in force since 1835.¹¹ At that time it was very easy to request and receive an excavation permit, which then allowed the division of finds between the excavator and the Egyptian State.¹² Antiquities dealers were further constrained by state authorities only after the enactment of Law no. 14 in 1912, which established that all the antiquities found on or in Egyptian soil were the sole property of the State (art. 1). Thus, the only antiquities that could be legally sold were those that were already part of pre-existing collections or those that came from legal excavations granted by the State – or rather by the Service des Antiquités – to the excavator (art. 4, 11).¹³ The law was still not applicable to foreigners, and the antiquities trade was thus a considerable source of profit until Law no. 215, issued in 1951, went into effect, which applied to both Egyptians and foreigners. In order to fuel the trade legally, antiquities dealers requested and obtained

⁹ A file on this archive is available at: www.trismegistos.org/arch/detail.php?tm=103.

¹⁰ B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, and D.G. Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and Their Papyri* (London 1900) 18-19.

¹¹ The export of antiquities was subject to the approval of the Egyptian Department of Education (Law of 1874). According to this law, one third of the antiquities found in an excavation authorized by the State belonged to the Government, one third to the excavator, and one third to the owner of the land: A. Khater, *Le régime juridique des fouilles et des antiquités en Égypte* (Le Caire 1960) 275-279. A decree of 1880 declared the export of antiquities illegal, but at the same time it specified that objects acquired by foreigners from private citizens (not from shops or professional dealers) could be exported: Khater, *ibidem* 280. On these laws see also A.L. Fricke, "Appendix II. A New Translation of Selected Egyptian Laws (1881-1912) Contained in Antoine Khater's *Le régime juridique des fouilles et des antiquités en Égypte*," in J.H. Merryman (ed.), *Imperialism, Art and Restitution* (Cambridge 2006) 175-192.

¹² A vivid glimpse of how things were going for the dealers and of the permissions given to them by the Service des Antiquités in 1883-1888 is in W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (reprint London 2003) 58-59, 75, 77, 90-91. In Petrie's autobiography he displays a certain animosity towards the French direction of the Service des Antiquités, described as unable to protect sites and objects.

¹³ Khater (n. 11) 106-116, 286-291. Regulations on the authorization of trade and export of antiquities were issued with ministerial decrees nos. 50 and 51 on 8 December 1912: Khater (n. 11) 291-295. At the same time decree no. 52 was issued, which regulated excavations: Khater (n. 11) 295-299.

permits for the excavation of archaeological sites, and therefore they came into legal possession of objects to re-sell at a great profit. Tourists,¹⁴ who had been visiting Egypt in increasing numbers since the middle of the nineteenth century, as well as European immigrants, also began to acquire antiquities along with scholars and great collectors.¹⁵

The most important antiquities dealers who sold papyri in Cairo in that period included Kyticas, Ali Farag, Ali el-Arabi, Maurice and Robert Nahman, Marius and Nicolas Tano,¹⁶ and Kondilios among others. However, these were not the only shops where papyri and antiquities could be purchased. Several other antiquities dealers operated from other places, like Luxor, Assyut, Medinet el-Fayyum, and El-Ashmounein, to mention a few.¹⁷ Many of them sold objects and papyri to private collectors and to museums all over the world; their families continued this commercial activity for many years. Private ownership of antiquities continued to be legal in Egypt even after Law no. 215 (1951) was enacted, but only for objects collected before that year or in a few other special cases (art. 22).

The discoveries mentioned above, and many others as well, were made by people, such as farmers and antiquities dealers, whose activities did not have any connection with systematic and scientific excavations. Egyptian archaeology was at that time in its early stages and many areas of Egypt had still not been explored by scholars – such as the western desert oases and the Fayyum, both of which were long-ignored by Egyptologists – and several archaeological sites were still not under control and protection of the Service des Antiquités.¹⁸

¹⁴ The development of new means of transportation such as the introduction of the railroad and steamboats on the Nile made travel within Egypt faster and more accessible. In 1880 the travel agency Thomas Cook obtained the exclusive rights to transport passengers with regular steamboats on the Cairo-Aswan-Wadi Halfa line: D.M.Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Cairo 2002), 64-92.

¹⁵ In the 1860s there was considerable immigration into Egypt because of economic prosperity the country was experiencing at the time: E.M. Earle, "Egyptian Cotton and the American Civil War," *Political Science Quarterly* 41 (1926) 536.

¹⁶ Marius Tano, a Greek Cypriot, opened an antiquities shop in Cairo in 1870; his business was carried on by his nephew Nicolas: W.R. Dawson, E.P. Uphill, and M.L. Brierbrier, *Who was Who in Egyptology* (London 1995) 410.

¹⁷ The merchant Mohammed Abdallah sold lots of papyri in his shop at El-Ashmounein: A. Martin, "Papyruskartell: The Papyri and the Movement of Antiquities," in A.K. Bowman et al. (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (London 2007) 43.

¹⁸ For a general description see M.S. Drower, *The Early Years*, in James (n. 6) 9-36.

2. *El-Fayyum and Its Papyri*

The Fayyum is one of the most important regions for papyrological discoveries. A great number of papyri, especially Greek papyri, have been preserved in towns, villages, and necropoleis – where they lay abandoned since Late Antiquity – thanks to favorable environmental conditions.

The region has unique characteristics in Egypt, since it is a pseudo-oasis linked to and dependent upon the Nile for its water supply through a natural canal, the Bahr Yussuf. The Fayyum is a large natural depression in the desert situated about 80 km southwest of Cairo, with elevations from 26 meters above sea level to 55 meters below sea level. A lake, now saline, called Birket Qarun, the Lake Moeris of Herodotus (*Histories* 2.149.1-2, 4-5; 150.1-4) sits in the lowest part of the depression, and the waste waters of the region flow into it. The amount of water that enters the region through the Bahr Yussuf is now controlled by four locks at El-Lahun, designed to keep the depression from flooding and to allow an optimal equilibrium between the level of the lake and the extent of cultivated area. This fragile ecosystem was artificially maintained from the Middle Kingdom, when the Pharaohs Sesostri II and Amenemhat III of the twelfth dynasty (ca. 1880-1808 BCE) transformed the Fayyum into an agricultural district. Strict control and the rigid regulation of water use by the State are a necessity for life in a region that, in times of political crisis and therefore of scarce attention, has suffered from flooding because of the increase in the level of the lake and from a poor distribution of water. In addition, maintaining the efficiency of the complex system of canals that cross the region is essential for the conservation and exploitation of farmland. We learn from some travelers and from French engineers following Napoleon's military expedition that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the region suffered from inadequate administration, with negative consequences for the lake and the extent of farmland. Documents from the Ottoman administrative offices of the eighteenth century testify to damage of parts of the Fayyum's hydrographic system, and thus confirm that it did not work properly for several years.¹⁹ Even in the Medieval period the extent of cultivated land was around half of what it is today, according to Al Nabulsi, Governor of the Fayyum in 1243. In these periods the population withdrew to the center of the region and the cultivable area shrank drastically while the lake's area grew.²⁰

¹⁹ A. Mikhail, "An Irrigated Empire: the View from Ottoman Fayyum," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 42 (2010) 621-652.

²⁰ P. Davoli, "Aspetti della topografia del Fayyum in epoca ellenistica e romana," in I. Andorlini, G. Bastianini, M. Manfredi, and G. Menci (eds.), *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Firenze 23-29 agosto 1998* (Firenze 2001) 1.353-359, Tavv.

It is particularly difficult to determine what the limits of the lake and of the cultivable land were in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, but after several years dedicated to the study of archaeological remains spread over the region I have reached the conclusion that both the farmland and the lake had at that time limits similar to those reached in the 1950s (Map 1: 500,000, the Survey of Egypt, 1957). In fact, some aerial photographs taken by the British Royal Air Force in 1955, before modern land reclamation had extended any further, allow us to follow the traces of some canals that probably belong to the Hellenistic-period reclamation, which ran between Theadelphia and Dionysias in the western desert.²¹ Moreover, it is clear that the modern peripheral canals often follow the course of ancient canals, passing close to ancient settlements.²² The best-preserved ruins of Greco-Roman settlements until the beginning of the nineteenth century were situated mainly in the desert, along the margins of modern agricultural land, protected by the sand and far from modern neighborhoods. Other settlements situated on the shores of the lake in Antiquity, such as Qaret el-Rusas and El Qarah el-Hamra, have almost completely vanished, submerged by the waters of the lake in the Medieval period. The ancient villages and monuments situated in the center of the region have also almost completely vanished because of intense human activities; an exception is Kiman Fares, the ruins of the capital Krokodilopolis (Medinet el-Fayyum), from which the first large lot of papyri sold in Cairo came. These ruins were located north of Medinet el-Fayyum before the great urban development of the 1960s and 1970s reduced them to just five small areas fenced off from the new districts.²³ The site was certainly used for centuries as a quarry for materials by the local inhabitants, and it is not clear why papyri reached the antiquities market beginning only in 1877.

XV-XVI. Cf. A.L. Udovitch, "International Trade and the Medieval Egyptian Countryside," in A.K. Bowman and E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times* (Oxford 1999) 283; Y. Rapoport and I. Shahr, "Irrigation in the Medieval Islamic Fayyum: Local Control in a Large-Scale Hydraulic System," *JESHO* 55 (2012) 1-31.

²¹ P. Davoli, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana* (Napoli 1998), Fig. 139 on p. 293, Fig. 156 on p. 323.

²² The outline of the ancient canal is still quite visible just a few dozen meters from the modern canal near Philadelphia.

²³ Cf. P. Davoli and A. Nahla Mohammed, "On Some Monuments from Kiman Fares (Medinet el-Fayyum)," *Studi di Egittologia e Papirologia* 3 (2006) 81-109. At present there are even fewer archaeological areas, some of them having been sacrificed to the expansion of the University and to other buildings. Those still fenced are submerged by water and marsh vegetation.

Ten years after that extraordinary discovery, G. Schweinfurth visited Kiman Fares, and published the only existing plan.²⁴ The area was twice the size of Medinet el-Fayyum at the time (2.4 x 1.2 km) and was composed of around 30 hills from 10 to 20 meters high, many of which consisted of ancient dumps rich in *sebbakh*. Schweinfurth identified to the south of Kiman Fares two large square basins used to extract saltpetre from *sebbakh*.

3. Antiquities, politics, and economy

Saltpetre is one of the components of gunpowder and is naturally present in *sebbakh*. *Sebbakh* is a key word in the history of Egyptian archaeology and papyrology because many of the most important discoveries of the nineteenth century and of the first half of the twentieth century are said to have been made by *sebbakhin*, farmers (*fellahin*) in search of *sebbakh*: Nile mud enriched with human- and animal-produced organic materials that was rich in nitrates and potassium salts.²⁵ *Sebbakh* was found concentrated among the ruins of ancient settlements and in their ancient dumps. *Sebbakh* is a natural fertilizer, but it can also be easily transformed back into mud with which to make new mud bricks and raw material from which saltpetre can be cheaply extracted to make gunpowder. These industries arose during the reigns of Mohammed Ali and his son Ibrahim Pasha and only disappeared at the beginning of the twentieth century.²⁶ Saltpetre was produced in large basins where the *sebbakh*, already cleaned up of potsherds, was kneaded with water. Thanks to the decantation and evaporation of the water, after a few days a crust of salt was left on the surface inside the basin, which was then collected and refined. Mountains of potsherds left near important settlements are today the main evidence of this widespread and destructive activity.²⁷

This simple and effective technique was introduced into Egypt in 1817 by a certain *monsieur* Baffi, a chemist from Rome, and was first applied at Bedrechein in a saltpetre factory built by the French architect Pascal Coste on

²⁴ G. Schweinfurth, "Zur der Ruinenstätte des alten Shet (Krokodilopolis – Arsinoë)," *Zeitschrift des Gesellschaft für Allgemeine Erdkunde* 22 (1887), Taf. 2.

²⁵ Bailey (n. 1) 211-214. The *sebbakh* obtained from ancient ruins was called *sebbakh kufri*; not all of it was considered to be high quality: H. Habib Ayrout, *The Egyptian Peasant* (Boston 1963) (1st ed. in French 1938) 44-45; J. de M. Johnson, "Antinoë and Its Papyri. Excavation by the Greco-Roman Branch, 1913-14," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1 (1914) 173, n. 1.

²⁶ D.M. Bailey, "A Ghost Palaestra at Antinoopolis," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 85 (1999) 238.

²⁷ Bailey (n. 1) p. 214.

Baffi's instructions. In two years (1818-9) 340 tons of saltpetre was produced using the *sebbakh* coming from the ruins of Memphis. This factory continued to exploit the ruins until the reign of Khedive Tawfik (1879-1882).²⁸

During the government of Mohammed Ali (1805-1848) many reforms aimed at improving the Egyptian economy were enacted and involved the participation of European engineers. Agriculture was the main source of the State's wealth and thus was intensified and improved to be more efficient. The hydrographic system of the country was redesigned in order to allow greater exploitation of farmland, to control the Nile's waters, and to extend land reclamation into the desert.²⁹ Agriculture had been based on the ancient system of artificial canals and "basin irrigation" set up to take advantage of the annual flood of the Nile, which allowed only one harvest per year. By contrast, the new system provided for the construction of barrages on the river to create reservoirs that could be drawn upon throughout the year in order to increase the number of harvests and allow the cultivation of long-staple cotton among other crops.³⁰ In addition, a long and capillary network of new artificial canals and motorized pumps brought water to locations far from the river basin. The "perennial irrigation" came into use with the technology that still makes

²⁸ M. Martin, "Deux notes sur les travaux en Égypte en 1817-1819," *Annales Islamologiques* 12 (1975) 257-259. On the "modernization" of Egypt, the new technologies, and Mohammed Ali's attitude toward them see also: *Histoire de la régénération de l'Égypte. Lettres écrites du Kaire à M. Le Comte Alexandre de Laborde par Jules Planat* (Paris 1830), in particular Lettre II 3 Sept. 1826, 30-31. In 1826 three saltpetre factories are attested at Ashmounein, Old Cairo, and Bedrechain; in 1832 they became six with Medinet el-Fayyum (Kiman Fares), Benisuef (Ehnasiya el-Medina), and Tersana; in 1833 two others were added at Kessan and Chersoneh, while later they improved production dramatically. The city of Ptolemais Hermiou was dismantled for the saltpetre factory at El-Manshah: Sir John Bowring, *Report on Egypt 1823-1838 under the Reign of Mohamed Ali* (London 1998) 79-81. On saltpetre factories at Sheikh Abada (Antinopolis), El-Ashmounein (Hermopolis Magna), and Ehnasiya el-Medina (Heracleopolis Magna), see Bailey (n. 26) 237-239; S. Snape and D. Bailey, *The Great Portico at Hermopolis Magna: Present State and Past Prospects* (London 1988) 49, Pl. 52.

²⁹ Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali* (Cambridge 1984) 149-150. On the process of modernization under Mohammed Ali see also K. Cuno, "The Origin of Private Ownership of Land in Egypt: a Reappraisal," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 12 (1980) 259-265. See also R. Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy 1800-1914* (London-New York 1981) 64-76.

³⁰ In the Delta perennial irrigation began in the middle of the 1830s: S. Ishida, "Delta Barrages and Egyptian Economy in the Nineteenth Century," *The Developing Economies* 10 (1972) 170-174.

intensive agriculture possible today.³¹ The most recent and greatest artificial reserve of water is Lake Nasser, created after the construction of the High Dam at Aswan, inaugurated in 1970.³²

In the course of this process of “modernization” Mohammed Ali did not completely ignore the ancient monuments, and in 1835 he enacted the first law concerning the preservation of Egypt’s ancient heritage, thanks to the pressures of the first Egyptologists and especially of J.-F. Champollion (1790-1832). The decipherer of the hieroglyphs, who visited Egypt in 1828/9, was struck by the richness of the Egyptian monuments but also by the speed with which they were being destroyed or commercialized.³³ However, then as now and as in most countries in the world, the economic development of the country took priority over the preservation of antiquities, which were used in many cases as a free source of material or as an odd homage to foreign rulers.³⁴ The first Museum for the conservation of monuments was built during the reign of Said Pasha (1854-1863) in Cairo in 1858, coinciding with the institution of the Service des Antiquités, both directed by Auguste Mariette (1821-1881). These institutions were the first permanent bodies with a certain amount of autonomy to be placed in charge of the preservation of the nation’s historical heritage; nonetheless the concepts of “heritage” and “safeguard” were not easily and commonly understood. Mariette devoted his life to heritage preservation: he was firmly convinced that Egypt was an open air museum in itself, but that the objects and other monuments should have been collected and protected in an Egyptian Museum.³⁵

The first large discoveries of papyri occurred, as has already been noted, at Kiman Fares, Ihnasiya el-Medina, El-Ashmounein, Dime, Kom Aushim,

³¹ Mohamed Youssef el-Sarki, *La monoculture du coton en Égypte et le développement économique* (Genève 1964) 118-121. On agricultural politics in the reign of Mohammed Ali more generally, see Afaf Lufti al-Sayyid Marsot (n. 29) 137-161.

³² For a description of the last flood, which occurred in 1964 see <http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/200603/the.last.nile.flood.htm>.

³³ Khater (n. 11) 30-34, 271-273. E. Gady, “Champollion, Ibrahim Pacha et Méhémet Ali: aux sources de la protection des antiquités égyptiennes,” in J.-Cl. Goyon-Ch. Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6-12 Septembre 2004* (Leuven 2007) 1.767-775. A proposal for the preservation of cultural heritage was delivered to Mohammed Ali also by Sir John Bowring some years after Champollion’s visit: Bowring (n. 28) 169-170.

³⁴ Mohammed Ali also considered dismantling of the Giza pyramids in order to use the blocks for new construction: Reid (n. 14) 54-63.

³⁵ Khater (n. 11) 62-63; E. David, *Mariette Pasha 1821-1881* (Paris 1994) 57-58 et *infra*; Cl. Le Tourneur d’Ison, *Mariette Pasha ou le rêve égyptien* (Paris 1999) 145-149, 190-222.

Elephantine (Aramaic *ostraka*), and in the Kharga oasis, beginning in the reign of Ismail Pasha (1863-1879), a period in which Egypt was fully committed to its program of economic development. The process saw the employment of a large percentage of the population primarily in jobs connected with agriculture and the construction of infrastructure. Various activities provided for the exploitation of ancient settlements and monuments, which were sacrificed for the economic progress of the country.³⁶ As an example we can refer to the Daira Sanieh, an agricultural company belonging to the Khedive and located in Upper Egypt, which possessed sugarcane plantations, hundreds of kilometers of rail lines for transport to its nine factories for processing, and much else. A portion of its railway passed, at least after 1884, through the site of Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmounein), whose ruins were not then protected by the Service des Antiquités and were therefore freely exploited.³⁷

The agricultural revolution of Mohammed Ali was in full swing, with the result that the cultivable land area quadrupled between 1820 and 1880.³⁸ During this period the population grew, cities and villages expanded, the length of the rail lines was doubled, and the government made every effort to improve Egypt from economic, cultural, and technical points of views.³⁹ Accordingly it was within the framework of great public enterprises spread over the entire territory that numerous casual discoveries occurred. To these were added the finds of clandestine antiquities hunters, whom Mariette sought to control both by means of continual inspections and by sending orders directly to the provinces reaffirming the absolute jurisdiction of the Service concerning antiquities.⁴⁰

The system of perennial irrigation allowed the introduction of new industrial crops, such as long-staple cotton (also known as Jumel or Mako) and sugarcane starting in 1820s. Both crops required large amounts of water and

³⁶ From a modern economic perspective it would be of extreme interest to calculate the value provided to the Government, and more generally to the economy of the country, by the reuse of archaeological material, from *sebbakh* to potsherds and stones. This kind of calculation is of course not possible; nonetheless, it seems from scattered sources that the reuse of archaeological material was massive throughout the country in this period, except for, probably, the oases of the western desert.

³⁷ Bailey (n. 1) 212-214; Snape and Bailey (n. 28) 45, Pl. 36. Samir Rafat, "Familiar Ground: the 19th Century Privatization of Daira Sanieh Doesn't Seem that Distant," *Business Monthly Magazine*, July 1997 (www.egy.com/historica/97-07-00.shtml).

³⁸ G. Alleaume, "An Industrial Revolution in Agriculture? Some Observations on the Evolution of Rural Egypt in the Nineteenth Century," in Bowman and Rogan (n. 20) 336.

³⁹ M. Campanini, *Storia dell'Egitto contemporaneo. Dalla rinascita ottocentesca a Mubarak* (Roma 2005) 28-35.

⁴⁰ Khater (n. 11) 64-66.

fertilizer. Fertilizer thus became a necessity for Egyptian agriculture beginning with the introduction of perennial irrigation. This system reduces the amount of Nile silt that accumulates each year on the fields, which are, in turn, depleted by intensive cultivation.⁴¹ For this reason it was necessary to use imported chemical fertilizers and *sebbakh*. Egypt expanded its own cotton market in Europe especially starting in 1860, when the United States stopped exporting cotton because of the American Civil War (1861-1865). Until then, Europe, Britain most of all, had imported cotton for its own textile industries primarily from the United States of America. The positive economic effects that the American Civil War had on the Egyptian economy are well known to scholars of modern history,⁴² but the side effects that influenced the history of archaeological discoveries appear to be less well known to Egyptologists and Papyrologists. With the increase in demand⁴³ Egyptian cotton production grew, even at the expense of grain production, as did the amount of newly reclaimed farmland⁴⁴ that in many regions began to reach ancient settlements rich in *sebbakh*. New farmers' villages were constructed nearby. The ruins thus became free sources of material for the *fellahin*: wood for fire, fired bricks and stone for construction, and, of course, *sebbakh* as an abundant and, most importantly, free fertilizer.

Egypt experienced an extraordinary period during the nineteenth century, in which the country was renovated and improved toward a more productive economy. Numerous and various public-work projects were carried out throughout Egypt, such as excavations of new canals, construction of factories, bridges, dams, roads, and railways, beside the cutting of the Suez Canal (opened in 1869).⁴⁵ These activities affected significantly the territory and the

⁴¹ El-Sarki (n. 31) 123.

⁴² See for example Earle (n. 15) 520-545.

⁴³ Great Britain initially sought to meet the demand for raw materials with crops from India, which nevertheless proved to be inadequate and of low quality. England and France therefore urged the Egyptian government to adjust its production and offered technical assistance. The production of cotton in Egypt grew 500% between 1860 and 1865: Earle (n. 15) 528-535. See also Mona Abaza, *The Cotton Plantation Remembered: An Egyptian Family Story* (Cairo 2013).

⁴⁴ El-Sarki (n. 31) 15-16. For trends in the production of cotton in Egypt from 1822 to 1993, see R. Owen, "A Long Look at Nearly Two Centuries of Long Staple Cotton," in Bowman and Rogan (n. 20) 349, Fig. 16.1.

⁴⁵ The Mahmudiyya canal was one of Mohammed Ali's enterprises: I. Hairy and O. Sennoune, "Géographie historique du canal d'Alexandrie," *Annales Islamologiques* 40 (2006) 251-252. The Delta Barrage Plan started in 1845 and consisted of the building of dams on every diverging branch of the Nile in the Delta to support the perennial irrigation system. The Delta Barrage Plan, the railroad project and the Suez Canal were

landscape and thus also archaeological sites, which were often used as quarries for material or demolished to provide space for new structures. Lime was produced from ancient building limestone blocks and monumental temples disappeared because of this activity, especially during Mohammed Ali's government. It has recently been noted that important regional works, like repairs of canals and dams on the seashore, had occurred already in the late eighteenth century. For these public works the Ottoman government obliged hundreds of Egyptian peasants to move from their villages and travel to the construction areas bringing with them building material. It is quite logical to think that at least part of this building material should have been collected for free and thus it is possible that it came, at least in part, from ancient buildings.⁴⁶ The building of the national railways and of the agricultural railway network began in 1851, first connecting Cairo with Alexandria, expanding into the Delta toward the Suez canal, and then into Upper Egypt and the Fayyum.⁴⁷ These works are responsible for the destruction of part of Kiman Fares⁴⁸ and of many other sites. Petrie testified to the quarrying of the famous monument known as the Labyrinth in Hawara by railway engineers some years before 1888.⁴⁹ The impact of the massive public works carried out in Egypt in the nineteenth century on archaeological heritage and on the landscape is not well known and is certainly underestimated.⁵⁰ It is difficult or almost impossible to link single archaeologi-

three major contemporary enterprises started by three rulers: Ishida (n. 30) 173-179. See also Bowring (n. 28) 164-166. New work on the canals, barrages, roads and infrastructure in general was begun at the beginning of British rule (1882); for an account of the situation from the British side, see C.C. Scott Moncrieff, "Egyptian Irrigation," *The Geographical Journal* 35 (1910) 425-428. The triumphal arch in Antinoupolis was demolished in 1819, and Hermopolis' famous portico of a Thoth temple was sacrificed in 1826, as were many other monuments: Bowring (n. 28) 82-83; Snape and Bailey (n. 28) 48-49; Bailey (n. 26) 236, n. 11.

⁴⁶ A. Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt* (Cambridge 2011) 253-255.

⁴⁷ For a short history of the Egyptian railways see G. Goldfinch, *Steel in the Sand: The History of Egypt and Its Railways* (Dorchester 2003). L. Wiener, *L'Égypte et ses chemins de fer* (Bruxelles 1932 [non vidi]). For a quick overview: <http://mikes.railhistory.railfan.net/r050.html>.

⁴⁸ The railway already cut and passed through the ruins in 1886, as shown by the plan published by Schweinfurt (n. 24) Taf. 2.

⁴⁹ W.M.F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* (London 1889) 6.

⁵⁰ The activity of the army should also be taken into account, not only for the salt-peter factories built from Mohammed Ali's time but for the forts and infrastructure built during the French invasion and during the British occupation. At Kom Ombo, for example, a British fort was built on the *kom*, after flattening it and destroying a "bastion" and "une partie de la muraille," according to E. David (ed.), *Gaston Maspero*.

cal discoveries to these works, but it is evident that most of the accidental finds happened in this period of great transformation for the country.⁵¹ Maspero's *Rapports sur la marche du Service des Antiquités de 1899 à 1910* is a veritable mine of information regarding the finds as well as the struggle to recover and protect antiquities. In the same publication Maspero notes with great lucidity:

La réforme introduite depuis vingt ans dans le système de l'irrigation a rendu à la culture de vastes étendues de terrains qui étaient arides depuis des siècles: l'eau y a été versé en abondance, imprégnant les objets qui y étaient enfermés, et les tells à sébakh ont été exploités avec tant d'ardeur qu'ils sont à la veille de disparaître. Si, dans le quart de siècle qui a commencé vers 1900, les sites antiques attaqués par l'industrie moderne n'ont pas été explorés à fond, je n'hésite pas à déclarer que leur contenu entier de papyrus, bronzes, statues en pierre ou en métal, terres cuites, étoffes, ustensiles, armes, outils, amulettes, sera perdu pour la science. Comme ils se comptent par centaines, ce ne serait pas trop d'une levée en masse des érudits pour venir à bout d'eux dans un espace de temps aussi restreint: nous avons donc sollicité la recherche, et je suis heureux de constater que notre intention a été comprise.⁵²

At the end of the nineteenth century the antiquities of the Fayyum were largely unknown to scholars.⁵³ The first, albeit incomplete, map of the Fayyum was drawn by M.W. Flinders Petrie after a brief survey in 1890.⁵⁴ The English papyrologists B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt decided to begin a systematic exploration of the Fayyum in 1895, after the publication of Petrie's reports on the identification of Greco-Roman ruins and on the discovery of literary

Lettres d'Égypte. Correspondance avec Louise Maspero (1883-1914) (Paris 2003) 159-160 (letter 14 Feb. 1886).

⁵¹ A general view of the major discoveries in the 19th and 20th centuries is in N. Reeves, *Ancient Egypt: The Great Discoveries* (London 2000). It is astonishing to see how many important finds are recorded as "casual" discoveries. Among them are also real "treasures," such as those found at Tukh el-Qaramus in 1905, at Tell Basta in 1906, and at Tell el-Maskhuta in 1947; cf. *ibid.* 125, 129, 198; G. Maspero, *Rapports sur la marche du Service des Antiquités de 1899 à 1910* (Le Caire 1912) 182, 203.

⁵² Maspero (n. 51) xxx.

⁵³ Comparing with the Nile Valley, the Fayyum has not been a popular destination of the first travellers and of the archaeologists, although more of the western desert oases; on the first archaeological works in ancient sites see Davoli (n. 21) and *infra*.

⁵⁴ W.M.F. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* (London 1891), Pl. XXX.

papyri at Hawara and of papyrus-cartonnage at Gurob.⁵⁵ The casual yet very abundant finds of papyri at Kiman Fares, Dime, and Kom Aushim were surely an additional impetus. The Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF), a private society founded in London in 1882, provided the necessary economic support.⁵⁶ In that same year (1882) England assumed political and economic control of Egypt, although the direction of the Museum and of the Service des Antiquités remained in French hands. In 1881 Gaston Maspero (1846-1916) succeeded Auguste Mariette. In comparison to his predecessor, Maspero proved to be more open to collaboration with foreign scholars, as he declared in the text quoted above. Indeed, before the issuing of the decree in 1891 that allowed the sharing of objects between the Service and the excavators (art. 4),⁵⁷ a decree of 1883 declared that antiquities were to be considered as the public heritage of the State and, as such, inalienable.⁵⁸

The Hellenistic and Roman settlements, still in an excellent state of preservation in the desert around the Fayyum, were reached by new artificial canals and by farmers in these same years. Their destruction began at this time due to great earth-moving projects, during which finds of objects and papyri occurred. Land reclamation reached the western edge of the Fayyum in 1900, later than the rest of the region: the new canals Bahr Qasr el-Banat and Bahr Qarun carried water into the vicinity of the ancient settlements of Theadelphia (Qarabet Ihrit), Euhemereia (Qasr el-Banat), and Dionysias (Qasr Qarun), which had been abandoned between the fourth and sixth centuries, perhaps because of a lack of water. These archaeological areas were therefore seriously disturbed by the *sebbakhin*, and in the years between 1901 and 1911 important discoveries were made, such as the archives of Heroninos and Sakaon (1903) and two stelai in Greek mentioning the temple of the god Pnepheros and the Boubasteion at Theadelphia. G. Lefebvre (1879-1957), then an inspector of the Service, informs us that in 1908 Theadelphia and its necropolis were almost completely covered by cultivated land.⁵⁹ The same situation was being

⁵⁵ On the activity of the two papyrologists see L. Lehnus, "Bernard Pyne Grenfell e Arthur Surridge Hunt (1869-1926), (1871-1934)," in M. Capasso (ed.), *Hermæ: Scholars and Scholarship in Papyrology* (Pisa and Roma 2007) 115-121.

⁵⁶ E. Turner, "The Graeco-Roman Branch," in James (n. 6) 161-178. On the British activities see also W.A. Johnson, "The Oxyrhynchus Distribution in America: Papyri and Ethics," *BASP* 49 (2012) 218-220.

⁵⁷ Khater (n. 11) 282-283.

⁵⁸ Khater (n. 11) 281. From 1883 to 1929, the Service des Antiquités was part of the Ministry of Public Works.

⁵⁹ G. Lefebvre, "Égypte gréco-romaine. II. Crocodilopolis et Théadelphie," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 10 (1910) 167, 168 n. 2.

played out in the Delta, where Petrie and G. Daressy similarly witnessed the rapid destruction of ancient sites.⁶⁰

At the beginning of the twentieth century the inspectors of the Service des Antiquités undertook more frequent inspections of Fayyum sites following important and casual discoveries. A lack of personnel did not allow the Service to monitor continually all the archaeological sites in Egypt, even if, following the Ministry of the Interior's release of a memorandum in 1901 – strongly demanded by Maspero⁶¹ –, a certain number of watchmen (*ghafir*) were enlisted to watch over the antiquities. The memorandum regulated the excavations for *sebbakh*, but it was transformed into an ordinance only in 1909.⁶² The Service's inspector Sobhi Arif was very active in the Fayyum between 1901 and 1905 and worked conscientiously to enforce the new laws and to check the activity of the *sebbakhin* and of the tomb robbers, with the help of only 21 guards. He reported that there were 110 requests for authorization to remove *sebbakh* at 23 sites in 1902.⁶³ *Sebbakh* had been defined by the law as a substance for public use, and for this reason it could be collected for free. The *sebbakhin* were required to pay the salary of the guards (*ghafir*) of the Service who were responsible for supervising the works and for sending the antiquities found to the Museum in Giza. They were also responsible for protecting buildings and other materials of interest to the Service itself. In fact, as we learn from the reports of Sobhi Arif and Maspero, the Service des Antiquités had its own business in the exploitation of the ancient settlements and could sell certain types of material, such as bricks and potsherds.⁶⁴

The wide destruction of ancient sites for *sebbakh* exploitation became a serious problem for the safeguard of the antiquities. Evaristo Breccia, addressing Maspero, proposed in 1903 that a list of archaeological sites where the extraction of *sebbakh* had to be absolutely forbidden should be drawn up;

⁶⁰ According to Petrie, *sebbakhin* were at work at the site of Naukratis in 1885 and in the years before then. They found many antiquities that Petrie sought to acquire himself to stop them from ending up on the antiquities market; Petrie (n. 12) 54-57. Daressy on the other hand was a witness at the beginning of the 20th century to the rapid destruction of Kom el-Hisn by *sebbakhin* and by the agricultural railway, built by Delta Light Railways; G. Daressy, "Rapport sur Kom el-Hisn," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 4 (1903) 281-282.

⁶¹ See "Annex B Instruction sur le sébakh (1901)," in Maspero (n. 51) 51-53.

⁶² Khater (n. 11) 226. Maspero (n. 51) xii; on the description of the duties of the *ghafirs* see Ibid. xxvi-xxvii.

⁶³ Sobhi Joseph Arif, "Rapport sur deux ans passés à l'inspectorat de Fayoum et de Benisouef," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 5 (1904) 44-53. The importance of his work in the Fayyum is well described in Maspero (n. 51) 170-171.

⁶⁴ Maspero (n. 51) xii, 36.

chemical fertilizers would have been distributed to the farmers as a sort of compensation as well as the *sebbakh* discarded during scientific excavations.⁶⁵ This project was considered impracticable at that time and the new ordinance no. 43 of 1909 was not sufficient to halt these destructive activities. Instead, it established that whoever wanted to dig for *sebbakh* had to make a request to obtain a proper permit from the Service.⁶⁶

From the text of the ordinance itself and from inspector Sobhi Arif's report, it seems clear that the Service did not consider *sebbakh* to be important per se, as a part of an ancient site, but rather because objects or monuments could be found within it. For this reason the ordinance insisted that everything found in *sebbakh* was the property of the State and at the disposal of the Service. Therefore, to safeguard antiquities, *ghafirs* were appointed from the Service to be present during the *sebbakh* excavations. Regular permits for *sebbakh* excavations were readily given out, because the appreciation of the importance of stratigraphic and sedimentological information was still limited, and the necessity of supporting intensive agriculture was overwhelming.⁶⁷ Moreover, the Service itself sometimes used *sebbakhin* as a free labor force, as Maspero himself records for the excavation of the Luxor temple in 1886.⁶⁸

During World War I the activity of the *sebbakhin* was intense and excavations by foreign scholars ceased. In this period many ancient settlements were razed, despite the fact that law no. 14 of 1912 had established, among other things, that the Greco-Roman sites, the *sebbakh*, and even the sand of ancient sites were all to be considered as antiquities and therefore protected by the law (art. 3). Article 15 established once again that the Service could in some cases give authorization to remove *sebbakh*.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Breccia (n. 3) 302; A.E. Breccia, *Egitto greco e romano* (3rd ed. Pisa 1957) 63. The archaeological sites to be protected were those interesting for their papyri.

⁶⁶ Khater (n. 11) 284-285. A project of laws for the protection of antiquities had already been proposed by G. Maspero in 1902, but it was never turned into a law; G. Maspero, *Projet de loi sur les antiquités de l'Égypte* (Le Caire 1902); Maspero (n. 51) 310-311. A list of *kiman* to which Ordinance no. 43 was applied is in "Liste des tells et koms à sebakh," *Journal officiel du Gouvernement égyptien*, Le Caire 12 février 1910. It was signed by the Minister of the Public Works Ismail Sirry.

⁶⁷ It should be remembered that the Service des Antiquités was in these years part of the Ministry of Public Works.

⁶⁸ David (n. 50) 134-138, 142; G. Legrain, "Rapport sur les nouveaux travaux exécutés à Louqsor à l'ouest du temple d'Amoun (Octobre 1816-Mars 1817)," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 17 (1917) 55-57. See also G. Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines du temple de Louxor* (Le Caire 1893) iii-ix.

⁶⁹ Khater (n. 11) 227, 286-290.

The discoveries made by *sebbakhin* in the Fayyum between 1903 and 1930 were numerous: some reached the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, while others were sold by antiquities dealers. The Egyptian Museum in Cairo is full of such finds and only some of them are known and published. In the 1920s and 1930s many collections of papyri were sold to foreign collectors, such as those acquired by J.R. Harris⁷⁰ in 1922/3 and by Columbia University in New York between 1923 and 1932.⁷¹ The University of Michigan also increased its own collections through acquisitions from various antiquities dealers in the years 1920-1936.⁷² G. Lefebvre and G.A. Wainwright, chief inspectors of Middle Egypt for the Service des Antiquités respectively in 1905-1915 and 1921-1924, succeeded in recovering many papyri and objects from the *sebbakhin*. Maspero recorded that treasure hunters were particularly active in the Fayyum in the second half of 1905, when the local Inspectorate was vacant following the death of Sobhi Arif.⁷³ In 1911 Lefebvre came into possession of some papyri from Hawara,⁷⁴ but many others from the same archive of an embalmers' family were sold to the Oriental Institute of Chicago and to the museums of Copenhagen, Hamburg, and London by the dealer M. Nahman in 1932. In 1915 around 2000 papyri from the Zenon archive found at Philadelphiea entered the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, but many hundreds of others were sold to various European and American collections. Papyri from the archive of Soterichos from Theadelphia entered the Cairo Egyptian Museum in 1927,⁷⁵ while others are held in several other collections.⁷⁶

It is thus quite clear that the survival of ancient sites was severely endangered by the economic policies of the Government and the persistently low level of awareness of the historical-archaeological and cultural importance of the ancient settlements of the Greco-Roman period. The clandestine excavations that fed the antiquities market were certainly also a cause of destruction, but this was limited to archaeological deposits and the objects themselves rather than entire sites. Archaeologists and papyrologists therefore found themselves

⁷⁰ J.E. Powell, *The Rendel Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College* (Birmingham and Cambridge 1936) v.

⁷¹ J. Day and C.W. Keyes, *Tax Documents from Theadelphia* (New York 1956) xv; R.S. Bagnall, "The Columbia Papyrus Collection (New York)," in Clarysse and Verreth (n. 3) 61.

⁷² P. Heilporn, "The Michigan Papyrus Collection," in Clarysse and Verreth (n. 3) 55.

⁷³ Maspero (n. 51) 167-168.

⁷⁴ I. Uytterhoeven, "An Introduction to the Hawara Archives," in Clarysse and Verreth (n. 3) 109-110.

⁷⁵ C.C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri 1* (Le Caire 1925) v.

⁷⁶ J. France, "Archives from Theadelphia," in Clarysse and Verreth (n. 3) 96.

in this historical context fighting against time in order to save antiquities from destruction.

4. "Excavations of Papyri" from 1895 to the Second World War

The British papyrologists Grenfell and Hunt undertook their excavations in the Fayyum in this socio-political framework, with the aim of finding the greatest number of papyri in the shortest possible time, in order to prevent their destruction by the *sebbakhin* and/or their sale by antiquities dealers.⁷⁷ In fact, it was known that dividing lots of papyri found together and even cutting papyri into many pieces to sell them to different buyers was a very common practice. The two British papyrologists conducted the first systematic exploration of the region, discovering and excavating, sometimes in only a few days, around 15 settlements and necropoleis whose ancient names they identified thanks to the papyri found in them. They spent every winter between 1895 and 1907 excavating Greco-Roman sites, in the Fayyum and elsewhere, living in tents with little or no comforts. During the rest of the year they studied and promptly published the papyri they had found, giving an immense contribution to philology, papyrology, palaeography, and ancient history. A new phase of papyrological discoveries began with Grenfell and Hunt and the Fayyum was rediscovered as an archaeologically rich region.

The predominantly papyrological interests of Grenfell and Hunt let them to approach the publication of the papyri by considering them mainly as bearers of text; the archaeological information on the places and contexts where the papyri were found is limited. The two scholars had the great fortune of exploring settlements still in an excellent state of preservation, sometimes still undamaged, as was the case at Bakchias (Kom Umm el-Atl), but unfortunately they did not document their excavations with plans and photographs, because the primary aim was to find papyri and not to excavate for archaeological knowledge of the sites. It was a question of priorities given the lack of time and resources; moreover, the Egypt Exploration Fund did not provide them an archaeologist, except for the first season, in which D.G. Hogarth succeeded in documenting the plans of the temples at Karanis and Bakchias.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth (n. 10) 20; this was the first volume on the Graeco-Roman Fayyum and its comprehensive historical topography. It is still a milestone for the history of this region. A.S. Hunt, "Twenty-Five Years of Papyrology," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 8 (1922) 121-128.

⁷⁸ Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth (n. 10) 38. Very few photos of groups of objects found during the excavations have been published in the volume *Fayûm Towns*. M.W.F. Petrie was the first archaeologist in Egypt to theorize a scientific method of excavation and

The work of Grenfell and Hunt was a kind of focused salvage excavation, conducted with its own methodology: they first identified settlements or necropoleis of the Greco-Roman period, then determined the likelihood that papyri had survived there by evaluating the surrounding environment, and finally decided where to dig. It was well known to scholars that papyri, being organic objects, were preserved in arid environments and that it was therefore extremely unlikely to find them in the Delta or near well-watered farmland. The sites were explored in order to locate rich dwellings, temples, and ancient dumps, contexts in which one would expect to find papyri and documentary archives. The technique of excavation was mainly with pits in the sites of the Fayyum and with long and narrow trenches in the dumps of Oxyrhynchus, in Middle Egypt. The two papyrologists were convinced that papyri were preserved mainly in layers of soft, dry soil, rich in organic elements, called *afsh* in Arabic. The workmen employed in the excavations were *fellahin*, farmers, with no experience in archaeological excavation; they were asked to search for *afsh* and when it was not found the pit was abandoned to dig another one in another place.⁷⁹

After some years of experience the British scholars were able to declare that papyri were found mainly in four contexts: ancient dumps, remains of buildings filled with ancient dumps, collapsed buildings, and mummy *cartonnage* from the Ptolemaic period.

The 1899-1900 season at Tebtynis was one of the best among the Fayyum campaigns in terms of number of papyri recovered. In that occasion they were financed by the University of California at Berkeley and worked with 140 workmen for three months. A very large number of papyri were recovered from the settlement and the necropolis. By their own acknowledgement the finds from Tebtynis during that season doubled the number of Ptolemaic papyri known until that time. In fact, they found papyri in Egyptian (Hieroglyphic and Demotic) and in Greek, but an archaeological report that would allow us appreciate the finds contexts was never drafted. In the necropolis situated to the south of the town they excavated thousands of tombs, in which they found 50 human mummies wrapped in papyrus *cartonnage* and an unknown number of crocodile mummies containing entire rolls of papyrus. Among these were the famous papyri from the archive of Menches, *komogrammateus* of Kerkeosiris

documentation. In his manual *Methods & Aims in Archaeology* (London 1904) 48 ff., he stressed the extreme importance of documentation in the field.

⁷⁹ On the methodology see Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth (n. 10) 20, 24-26.

in the second century BCE. The majority of these papyri are today housed at the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California, Berkeley.⁸⁰

The ruins of the city of Oxyrhynchus, which has now almost completely vanished, were a veritable papyrus mine, particularly the ancient dumps Grenfell and Hunt excavated there in 1897 and 1902-1907 with around 200 workmen. The method they choose for the excavation of the high dumps allowed them to explore the site quite quickly and with a great efficiency cutting long and narrow trenches.⁸¹ Many baskets full of papyri, among them many literary texts, were recovered among the waste. The publication of these treasures is still ongoing, and 80 volumes have been published so far, but still without archaeological information on contexts.

Following the example of the British papyrologists, other scholars arrived in Egypt to find and save papyri as well. They generally used the same systems and excavation methods tested by the two pioneers of papyrological excavations, even though Petrie had already fully demonstrated how fruitful an excavation conducted with archaeological methods could be. In the majority of cases they were financed by institutions, museums, and universities interested in creating or increasing papyrological collections; for this aim such scholars also worked to acquire papyri on the antiquities market in Cairo. E. Breccia, director of the Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria from 1905 to 1930, noted the devastating effects of such activities, although neither he nor the other important Italian scholars were completely innocent of such practices:⁸² “Le conseguenze di un tale stato di cose sono state funeste, perché non solo i contadini, sollecitati dai trafficanti e mossi da naturale avidità di guadagno, si sono dati ad un’affannosa caccia dei più insignificanti pezzetti, disperdendoli in malo modo e pretendendone fantastici prezzi, ma persino gli scavatori autorizzati hanno considerato la ricerca dei papiri come fine a se stessa, non associandola affatto all’esplorazione archeologica e neppure al rispetto delle circostanti rovine.”⁸³

As an example of excavations for papyri conducted in Egypt in that period we can mention those of Pierre Jouguet, who worked on behalf of the French Department of Education at Medinet Madi (Narmouthis), Medinet Ghoran,

⁸⁰ A. Verhoogt, “The Papyrus Collection of the University of California at Berkeley,” in Clarysse and Verreth (n. 3) 11-12. <http://tebtunis.berkeley.edu/>.

⁸¹ Turner (n. 56) 166-168.

⁸² D. Minutoli, “Evaristo Breccia alla ricerca dei papiri in Egitto,” in E. Bresciani et al. (edd.), *Annibale Evaristo Breccia in Egitto* (Il Cairo 2003) 99, 106-109. On the beginnings of Italian papyrology, cf. D. Morelli and R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Cinquant’anni di papirologia in Italia* 1 (Napoli 1983) 9-37. See also R. Pintaudi, “The Italian Excavations,” in Bowman et al. (n. 17) 104-108.

⁸³ Breccia (n. 65) 64. Cf. also Breccia (n. 3) 301.

and Medinet el-Nihas (Magdola) between 1900 and 1902. Considerable numbers of papyrus *cartonnage* were found in the necropolis of Medinet Ghoran and of Magdola, and brought to Lille for disassembly. The papyri recovered from the *cartonnage* remained partly in France (at the Institute of Papyrology at the Sorbonne) while some were returned to the Cairo Egyptian Museum. Otto Rubensohn excavated for the Royal Museums of Berlin at Theadelphia (Bathn Ihrith) and at Tebtynis (Kom Umm el-Boreigat) in 1902. He was the first scholar to be interested in the typology of the dwellings that were found, but his study was rather limited because of the papyrological aims of his excavations. Nevertheless his article long remained the only reference work for the Graeco-Roman houses of the Fayyum.⁸⁴ Paul Viereck and Friederich Zucker, who worked in Philadelphieia, Soknopaiou Nesos, and Narmouthis from 1908 to 1910, succeeded Rubensohn as the directors of the excavations. Their report of the works carried out at Philadelphieia is the only documentation we have of this important site. Although not rich in technical details, the report describes some excavated buildings, a few of them illustrated by photographs and plans, like a small temple and two houses. The plan of the site is of great interest today because a few years after it was drafted the archaeological area was entirely destroyed. This is the only plan that can give us an idea of the topographic layout of the ancient town. However, the plan was not drawn during the excavations, the precise extent and location of which we do not know, but only in 1924 by Ludwig Borchardt, shortly before the publication of the report. Since it is known that the activity of the *sebbakhin* at Philadelphieia was quite intense during the period between Viereck and Zucker's works and 1924 (the discovery of the famous archive of Zenon occurred in those years), it is obvious that the published plan does not reflect the state of preservation at the time of the excavations.⁸⁵

During World War I the antiquities market was not particularly thriving and foreign archaeological missions only resumed work at Egyptian sites in the 1920s. Among the most important scientific excavations in the Fayyum were those of the University of Michigan at Karanis and Soknopaiou Nesos from 1924 to 1934.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ O. Rubensohn, "Aus griechisch-römischen Häusern des Fayum," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 20 (1905) 1-25.

⁸⁵ Breccia claims that in 1912 the site had been reduced to very bad conditions by the *sebbakhin*; Breccia (n. 65) 65.

⁸⁶ The University of Michigan worked for 10 years at Karanis and for one season at Soknopaiou Nesos using a good archaeological method and producing quite accurate documentation for the time. However, the publication of papyri continued in the traditional way and without any archaeological context. Still, the documentation of the

Other excavations include the British geo-archaeological explorations in the Northeast of the Fayyum starting from 1924 by G. Caton-Thompson and E.W. Gardner; the papyrological excavations of the Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri in Egitto at Tebtynis from 1929 to 1935 and those of A. Vogliano at Narmouthis from 1934 to 1939. At the beginning of the University of Michigan's excavations in 1924, *sebbakhin* were still in full swing and very well organized, as we can see in an aerial photograph of Kom Aushim accompanied by the words of A.E.R. Boak, director of the mission: "Unfortunately, a large area in the heart of the mound, apparently about the center of the town, had been cleared down to bed rock by the *sebbakhin*, so that it had the appearance of the great crater of some extinct volcano... The approach to this area was from the south, where the Decauville railroad entered. ... The points at which excavations were begun were determined by the demand of the Daira Agnelli, a land company operating from the village of Tamia and having permit to remove about 200 cubic meters of *sebbakh* daily from the Kom."⁸⁷ Another important witness of the excavations carried out by local inhabitants in those years is M. Rostovtzeff who provides evidence of an important cache of papyri found by the *sebbakhin* in 1930 inside the temple of Tebtynis, in other words during the years of the Italian excavations.⁸⁸

Archaeologists and papyrologists paid more attention to the excavation methodology and documentation starting in the 1920s and 1930s in Egypt. The aims of the new archaeological researches were significantly more scientific and interested in the acquisition of historical data. Rostovtzeff, in a 1929 article, wrote against what he called "excavations of papyri." He underlined the importance of applying the stratigraphic method to the excavations, through which the small finds, and more generally the contexts, could be taken into proper consideration. He also observed that in the past considerable amounts of important information had been sacrificed to excavate so many papyri in such a short period of time and in the most economical way possible.⁸⁹

excavation, today housed in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology and in other archives in Ann Arbor, allows for a study of the contexts.

⁸⁷ A.E.R. Boak and E.E. Peterson, *Karanis: Topographical and Architectural Report of Excavations during the Seasons 1924-28* (Ann Arbor 1931) 3.

⁸⁸ C. Salvaterra, "The Papyrus Collection of the University of Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute," in Clarysse and Verreth (n. 3) 37-38.

⁸⁹ M. Rostovtzeff, review of P. Viereck and F. Zucker, *Papyri, Ostraka und Wachstafeln aus Philadelphia im Fayum* (Berlin 1926), *Gnomon* 1929, 435-440.

5. Conclusions

The trade and collection of antiquities is an old phenomenon that has returned to the discussion in the last few years, thanks to the formation and circulation of a new ethic of conservation of cultural heritage. The contemporary increase of clandestine excavations, which illegally resupply the antiquities market with new objects and papyri, highlights the urgency of this discussion. The illegal excavations and the destruction of sites in the name of business are a very real problem in Egypt, especially after the 2011 revolution. Again, even nowadays the population growth, the new economic demands, and politics are deeply affecting the country and its precious heritage.

In this article I intended to survey a phenomenon, the “modernization” of Egypt in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and its effect over the newly-born disciplines of Egyptology and Papyrology. The activity of the *sebbakhin* was part of a wider political and economic process begun under Mohammed Ali’s rule and it is only one of the many involved in the “casual” discoveries of antiquities in Egypt. The legal aspect of the story is of great interest and reflects the evolution of the concept of heritage and of its conservation. The institution of the Service des Antiquités and its role within the Government and its Ministries also played a major role in the evolution of these concepts and in the control, even if partial, of the antiquities market. After Mariette, Maspero exerted great effort in organizing and protecting antiquities and sites, but the law and circumstances were not always favorable: “Combien notre action serait plus efficace, si nous avions une loi qui nous permit de défendre les antiquités égyptiennes aussi sérieusement que les antiquités nationales sont défendues en Grèce, en Italie, en Turquie, en France, dans l’Europe entière!”⁹⁰

The Service des Antiquités also suffered from politics as well as economic and cultural behavior, both Egyptian and European. The difficulties it faced in safeguarding antiquities should not be forgotten, nor that it was part of the Ministry for Public Works from 1883 to 1929. The laws for the protection of archaeological heritage were thus enactments of this Ministry, while excavation permits were given by an Archaeological Committee of the Service, composed largely of members of other Ministries.⁹¹ It is therefore unsurprising that the ancient settlements rich in *sebbakh* were not actually protected by the law, which considered *sebbakh* a material freely available for public use.

The deep and very rapid transformation of the country, and of its government, population and economy are at the base of the archeological and papy-

⁹⁰ Maspero (n. 51) xxvii.

⁹¹ Khater (n. 11) 77. Maspero complained about the exploitation of *sebbakh* and the legal structures that favoured the *fellahin*; Maspero (n. 51) xiii.

rological discoveries of that time. Alongside the regular excavations carried out by scholars, there were an enormous number of excavations made with different purposes that started a flow of decontextualized finds.

The antiquities market was itself supplied with materials of both illegal and legal origin. Today it seems absurd that objects and papyri from excavations could enter the market legally. Still we have seen how cultural and economic forces ensured that the laws in force in Egypt up to 1951 only partially protected antiquities. Moreover we have a clear impression that these laws and regulations were largely ineffective⁹² and in part ignored. Armed with obligatory authorizations, the *sebbakhin* also worked at an “industrial” pace in the collection of *sebbakh*, not least enabled by the use of *decauilles*, light railways that accelerated its transport. As a result, many archaeological sites were completely destroyed before the end of the 1930s.

The increasing demand for *sebbakh* in that period was a natural consequence of government policy.⁹³ The Ministry of Public Works, and indeed the Government in general, do not actually seem to have been interested in the preservation of archaeological areas. Rather, these sites represented an abundant and economical source of fertilizer and other material and therefore contributed toward sustaining the country’s economy.⁹⁴ According to A.M. Earle, a veritable “fever for cotton” took over the country infecting the whole economy and the political system.⁹⁵

At that time the limited resources available for safeguarding cultural heritage were spread throughout Egypt, particularly in the Nile Valley. In the Fayyum protection was mostly limited to the recovery of objects that came to light during excavations for *sebbakh* and to their transfer to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. These large *sebbakh* excavations seem to have come to a halt at the beginning of World War II.⁹⁶ For this reason some sites in the Fayyum

⁹² Maspero noted that the penalties provided for by the law were insignificant: Maspero (n. 51) xxvii-xxviii.

⁹³ On crops and fertilizers see A.K. Bowman and E. Rogan, “Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times,” in Bowman and Rogan (n. 20) 5.

⁹⁴ The whole site of Athribis in the Delta was sold by the government to a landowner so that he could use the *sebbakh*; Bailey (n. 1) 213.

⁹⁵ Earle (n. 15) 535.

⁹⁶ According to Habib Ayrout (n. 25) 45 in 1938 the *sebbakh* left in ancient ruins was of poor quality; moreover, the production of chemical fertilizer began in Egypt in 1936: M.M. El-Fouly, “Fertilizers,” in G.M. Craig (ed.), *The Agriculture of Egypt* (Oxford 1993) 367. Already in 1907 Maspero faced a difficult situation with *sebbakhin* in search of new *sebbakh* after having exploited most of the sites. To avoid the destruction of the most important archaeological areas still partly preserved, he suggested finding new and different sources of fertilizer; Maspero (n. 51) 231-232.

were not completely demolished and could be investigated afterward, such as Soknopaiou Nesos, Tebtynis, Bakchias, Narmouthis, and Dionysias. Finally, in 1929, the Service des Antiquités fell under the Ministry of Public Education, an institution with cultural rather than economic functions, as opposed to the Ministry for Public Works. A new and much more restrictive law directed against the work of the *sebbakhin* without an official permit was enacted in 1951 (Law 215); this law also regulated and severely limited the legal trade in antiquities and, in consequence, antiquities dealers began to close their businesses.

Papyri, Ethics, and Economics: A Biography of *P.Oxy.* 15.1780 (P39)

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Abstract

Discussion of the retrieval, distribution, and sale of *P.Oxy.* 15.1780, a fragment of the Gospel of John (P39), currently in the Green Collection, and the ethical issues involved. An appendix publishes early correspondence about the acquisition of the Rylands papyri.

“But there are other events in the biography of objects
that convey more subtle meanings. What of a Renoir
ending up in a private and inaccessible collection?
Of one lying neglected in a museum basement?
How should we feel about yet another Renoir
leaving France for the United States?
Or for Nigeria?”¹

In an article recently published in this journal, William A. Johnson has drawn attention to the history of the distribution of items coming from archaeological excavations, funded by the Egypt Exploration Fund (from now on EEF), to American colleges, universities, and museums, and has reminded us of the complexity of the questions related to any contemporary evaluation of the “fascinating stories about the discovery, recovery, excavation, and politics of papyri.”² The present contribution is centred on one of these stories, that concerning the discovery, recovery and following transfers of ownership

¹ I. Kopytoff, “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commodization as Process,” in A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge 1986) 69. I wish to thank friends and colleagues who have read and commented on different drafts of this paper: Brent Nongbri, Nick Gonis, Todd Hickey, and Malcolm Choat. Useful comments came also from the anonymous reviewers. I am grateful for the careful reading and enlightening comments that every one in the list has contributed; the responsibility for the opinions expressed in the article is all mine.

² W.A. Johnson, “The Oxyrhynchus Distributions in America: Papyri and Ethics,” *BASP* 49 (2012) 209-22; quotation from p. 222.

of *P.Oxy.* 15.1780, also known as $\mathfrak{P}39$, a fragment bearing some lines from chapter 8 of the Gospel of John and one of the most ancient testimonies of this New Testament book.³ The reconstruction and discussion of the modern biography⁴ of this papyrus aims to contribute to the debate surrounding papyri as cultural heritage artefacts and hopes to disentangle some of the ideologies underpinning the acquisition, use, and interpretation of biblical papyri as special heritage objects.

Some time after 300 CE, someone in Oxyrhynchus discarded at least one page from a papyrus codex containing the Gospel of John.⁵ We do not know why it happened or how it went, but many centuries later Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt found a fragment of the page, and published it in the fifteenth volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri series in 1922.⁶ Grenfell and Hunt's campaigns in Egypt, and the publication of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri volumes, were both financially sustained by the EEF through its Greco-Roman branch.⁷ As is well known, this organization was founded in 1882, the same year that Britain invaded Egypt, by Amelia Edwards, the successful author of *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* (1876) and a great promoter of archaeology in Egypt.⁸ Edwards was aware of the threat of modernization to the archaeological landscape of the country, and she wanted the "civilized world" to save it for the future. The educated elites of the United Kingdom felt they had to play a major role in the salvation and study of the Egyptian cultural patrimony through

³ TM 61638. The papyrus has been recently dated to AD 275-300 by W. Clarysse and P. Orsini, "Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Palaeography," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 88 (2012) 462 and 470.

⁴ With "biography" I mean "cultural biography" as defined in I. Kopytoff's seminal essay (n. 1).

⁵ On throwing away biblical texts in ancient Oxyrhynchus see most recently A.M. Lujendijk, "Sacred Scriptures as Trash: Biblical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus," *Vigiliae Christianae* 64 (2010) 217-254.

⁶ In the preface to the volume, there is no mention of the campaign in which this particular papyrus was found. Hunt explains that most of the pieces, but not all, were from the 1905-1906 campaign, and some were purchased by Grenfell during his last trip to Egypt in 1920. During this last trip Grenfell also purchased papyri for the John Rylands Library, and *P.Ryl.* 3.457 ($\mathfrak{P}52$) was part of that lot.

⁷ On the history of the EEF, nowadays Egypt Exploration Society (EES), see T.G.H. James (ed.), *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982* (London 1982), esp. the contribution of E. Turner, "The Graeco-Roman Branch," 161-178.

⁸ For a recent biography of Amelia Edwards see B.E. Moon, *More Usefully Employed: Amelia B. Edwards, Writer, Traveller and Campaigner for Ancient Egypt* (London 2006). It was through the EEF that William Matthew Flinders Petrie began his work in Egypt; see M.S. Drower, "The Early Years," in James (n. 7) 18-19.

excavations, conservation, and the export of as many as possible of the items retrieved. At the same time they were the main instigators of the very processes of modernization and exploitation of the resources of the country that, as they recognized and denounced, were putting antiquities at risk.⁹

Egyptomania spread all over Europe and the U.S. Scholars and tourists flocked to Egypt, to excavate and study, for leisure and to buy antiquities, papyri included, on the thriving local antiquities market.¹⁰ Egyptomania certainly predated the British occupation of Egypt and the formation of the EEF. It was opened by Napoleon's expedition of 1798 and was deeply embedded into a Western cultural environment where Egyptian antiquities were thought to be a key for Biblical studies.¹¹ This cultural attitude boosted a range of activities and enterprises of various kinds, from excavations to editions of texts, from tourism to Christian advocates' and religious leaders' interest in papyri and other artefacts, that contributed as a whole to a massive transfer of Egyptian

⁹The classic study of political and cultural colonization of Egypt is T. Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge 1988); see also D.M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museum, and National Identity From Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London 2002), esp. 139-212 concerning the English occupation and the Graeco-Roman heritage; E. Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity* (Durham, NC 2007).

¹⁰Evidence of the purchasing activities by the first generations of papyrologists are well attested in the archives of most collections, in some cases available online through brief descriptions or electronic editions of relevant material; see for instance the archive relative to the Michigan papyri collection at <http://www.lib.umich.edu/papyrology-collection/acquisition-reports> (last accessed on 12 May 2014). The collection of my university, the John Rylands collection, was all bought on the antiquities market through Lord Crawford, B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, J. Rendel Harris, A. Deissman and Carl Schmidt, and possibly others. Rendel Harris was arrested, although immediately released, in the Fayum while engaged in such activities, as he reports in one of his lively letters to the head librarian of the John Rylands Library, Henry Guppy, from Cairo on 17 February 1917 (JRL/4/1/1/1917/Rendel Harris).

¹¹The role of Biblical studies in the birth of Egyptology has been most recently studied and highlighted by D. Gange, *Dialogues with the Dead: Egyptology in British Culture and Religion, 1822-1922* (Oxford 2013) esp. 53-120. The first public announcement of the foundation of the EEF, published in various newspapers, stressed the aim of the newly created society "to raise a fund for the purpose of conducting excavations in the Delta, which up to this time has been very rarely visited by travellers, and where one site (Zoan, Tanis) has been explored by archaeologists. Yet here must undoubtedly lie concealed the documents of a lost period of Biblical history – documents which we may confidently hope will furnish the key to a whole series of perplexing problems." Cited from Drower (n. 8) 9.

antiquities to other countries, in Europe and elsewhere.¹² The year 1882 signalled a turning point in the intensification of this trend.

Although international, shared legislation on the ownership, selling, and export of antiquities has been achieved, not without problems, only since the issuing of the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property of 14 November 1970, and subsequent national subscriptions and adhesions to it, it is worth recalling that in Egypt there were rules regulating these activities as early as the 19th century.¹³ The Antiquities Service was in charge of authorising archaeological excavations and the following *partages* and was tasked with controlling the preservation and care of the cultural heritage of the country. It is well known, however, that the Service operated under heavy French control, was influenced by the wider colonial political and cultural climate, and was unable to function effectively on the ground because of limited resources and the wider Egyptian political and economic conditions. As a result, a large number of antiquities left Egypt legally and illegally in those years. Important steps forward were made only later, in the 20th century. In 1912, law nr. 14 established the important principle according to which all antiquities found in Egypt belonged to the State, and forbade the selling of them, unless they were already part of a collection or coming from legal excavations, recognised by the State. This law applied only to Egyptians; therefore foreigners continued their activities until 1951, when a stricter law on the protection of antiquities was issued (law nr. 215 of 31 October 1951, emended by laws nr. 529 of 1953 and nr. 24 of 1965). This has been now superseded by law nr. 117 of 1983, emended in 2003. Needless to say, looting and illegal trafficking of antiquities are still on going in Egypt, as elsewhere. In fact the political instability of the country following the Arab spring, and the high demand for antiquities from collectors based not only in the US and Europe, but also in China, Japan, the Gulf,

¹² A very interesting example of the connection between religious activism and the discovery of Egypt is provided by the story of the acquisition of Egyptian antiquities, including papyri, by Joseph Smith, author of the Book of Mormon and founder of the Church of the Latter-day Saints (later Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints), in 1835, on which see R.K. Ritner, *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri: A Complete Edition* (Salt Lake City 2012), esp. chapter one.

¹³ See A. Khater, *Le Régime juridique de fouilles et des antiquités en Égypte* (Cairo 1960); for a shorter summary, see M.M. Kersel, "The Changing Legal Landscape for Middle Eastern Archaeology in the Colonial Era, 1800-1930," in G. Emberling (ed.), *Pioneers to the Past: American Archaeologists in the Middle East 1919-1920* (Chicago 2010) 87. See also the wider discussion of P. Davoli, "Papiri, archeologia e storia moderna", *Atene e Roma* 1-2 (2008) 100-124, esp. 102-103 on legislation.

and other emergent markets, have led to an increase of these phenomena in the last decade, despite continuous national and international efforts.¹⁴ Papyri and other archaeological objects coming from the ruins of Antinoopolis were recently recovered in Egypt by members of the Italian archaeological mission and the Egyptian authorities, while at least one piece was identified in a catalogue of the London auction house Bonhams and as a consequence seized by the British police.¹⁵

But let us go back to the late 19th-early 20th century. Fund-raising for the EEF was promoted through public lectures in the United Kingdom and abroad, newspapers articles and other activities by Amelia Edwards herself, and Egyptologists and scholars sponsored through it.¹⁶ As recalled in Johnson's article, an American branch was created in 1883.¹⁷ As a reward for funding, the EEF distributed papyri and other items from excavations to its subscribers.¹⁸ In fact the movement of antiquities from excavations in this period was far more complicated than distribution lists may imply. Some of Petrie's excavations, for instance, were funded directly by private individuals.¹⁹ The collection of the Manchester Museum is substantially based on Jesse Howarth's private

¹⁴ E.g. most recently the "Emergency Red List of Egyptian Cultural Objects at Risk" compiled by ICOM and available at http://icom.museum/uploads/tx_hpoindex-bdd/120521_ERLE_EN-Pages.pdf (last accessed on 12 May 2014), and the on-going campaign for the subscription of a bilateral agreement between Egypt and the U.S. restricting Egyptian imports in the US, on which see T. Mashberg, "Egypt Asks U.S. to Impose Sharp Curbs on Importing of Antiquities," *The International New York Times*, 14 March 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/15/arts/design/egypt-asks-us-to-impose-sharp-curbs-on-importing-of-antiquities.html>, last accessed on 12 May 2014).

¹⁵ See R. Pintaudi et al., "*Latrones: furti e recuperi da Antinoupolis*," *AnalPap* 26 (2014) 359-402; the piece recovered in London was on sale as lot 65 on 23 October 2013, see <http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/20669/lot/65/> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

¹⁶ For these activities in the North-West of England see H. Forrest, *Manufacturers, Mummies and Manchester: Two-Hundred Years of Interest in and Study of Egyptology in the Greater Manchester Area* (Oxford 2011), esp. 10-16.

¹⁷ Johnson (n. 2) 213; see also Drower (n. 8) 22-23.

¹⁸ For the papyri, see R.A. Coles, *Location-List of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri and Other Greek Papyri Published by the Egypt Exploration Society* (London 1974), available in electronic format at <http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/POxy/lists/listmenu.htm> (last accessed on 7 April 2015). The methods of distributions employed by the EEF were one of the reasons why Flinders Petrie resigned in 1886, see Drower (n. 8) 26-27.

¹⁹ This especially after he resigned from the EEF in 1886. He worked again with the Fund between 1896 and 1905, Drower (n. 8) 26-27. Petrie used to include the names of sponsors in his archaeological reports, see e.g. W.M.F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* (1889) 3-4.

collection and those of other Manchester cotton magnates.²⁰ The famous 2nd century Homer roll, found beneath the head of a young lady in a tomb of Hawara's cemetery by Petrie in 1888, was presented by his sponsor, Jesse Howarth, to the Bodleian Library in Oxford.²¹ As Johnson rightly recalls, Grenfell and Hunt's expeditions were sustained by EEF money, and the American branches of the EEF collected even more than the British ones. However, to the accountancy related to excavation campaigns funded by the EEF, we should add that for acquisitions on the antiquities market. Grenfell and Hunt received sums directly from wealthy collectors, and possibly some colleagues, for the acquisition of papyri from dealers. For instance, Lord Crawford funded them expressly for the purchasing of papyri;²² Enriqueta Rylands, widow of the cotton magnate John and founder of the John Rylands Library, gave them money for this purpose certainly for the campaign of 1901-1902, and the Library sent Grenfell the sum of £55 for purchasing papyri while he was in Egypt in 1920;²³ the Egyptologist Griffith gave money for the acquisition of Demotic papyri to Grenfell at least once, before the 1896-1897 campaign, according to a letter of Grenfell to him held in the John Rylands Library archives (see Appendix 1). These sums did not end up in the expedition budget, but formed a separate fund designated to the purchase of papyri for others and themselves.²⁴ In fact excavations and purchases on the antiquities market were activities that most European and American archaeologists and papyrologists were conducting at the same time.²⁵ It must not be forgotten that dealers too dug in Egypt with the permission, or even the help, of the Egyptian authorities.²⁶

²⁰ See S.J.M.M. Alberti, *Nature and Culture: Objects, Disciplines and the Manchester Museum* (Manchester 2009) 66-73; Forrest (n. 16) 3-38.

²¹ TM 60571; see Petrie (n. 19) 28-9; I. Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village* (2009) 268-269.

²² See M. Choat, "Lord Crawford's Search for Papyri: on the Origin of the Rylands Papyrus Collection," in P. Schubert (ed.), *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie (Genève, 16-21 août 2010)* (Genève 2012) 145.

²³ I suspect the first payment was repeated for the following campaigns, but I need to do more work on the archives of the John Rylands Library, which are extensive and not fully catalogued. For the payment to Grenfell in 1920 we have three letters, two from Cairo (dated 24 February and 26 March), one from Oxford (dated 1 May) addressed by him to the head librarian, Henry Guppy; see JRL/4/1/1/1920/Grenfell.

²⁴ See N. Gonis, "Further Letters from the Archive of Apa Ioannes," *BASP* 45 (2008) 69-71.

²⁵ For an Italian example, see E. Breccia, "In Egitto con Girolamo Vitelli (trent'anni dopo)," *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 255-262.

²⁶ See Davoli (n. 13) 103-104 on excavation permissions conceded to Ali Farag, based in Giza, and Sayed Bey Khashaba, based in Asyut.

Transferred from Egypt to Oxford some time between the end of the 19th century and 1920, *P.Oxy.* 15.1780 (P39) left Oxford for America when it was assigned, together with other 29 papyri, to Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, in the second round of the distributions of papyri to American museums, universities, and colleges.²⁷ It remained in Chester until 1980, when the seminar merged with Colgate Rochester Divinity School in Rochester, New York, and the papyrus collection was moved there. P39 rested in the Ambrose Swasey Library of Colgate Rochester Divinity School under the inventory number 8864 for many years, while scholars were studying and discussing it, sometimes taking trips to Rochester in order to examine the fragment itself. Such was the life of our fragment, until the School got into financial troubles, like many other institutions in the US and elsewhere. Then the administrators took the decision to sell some of their manuscripts, including the Oxyrhynchus papyri, in order to make ends meet: P39 went on auction in Sotheby's New York rooms on 20 June 2003 as lot 97.²⁸ It sold for \$400,000 (\$350,000 + \$50,000 commission), according to Sotheby's "the highest price ever paid at public sale for any early Christian manuscript."²⁹ The operation was sharply criticized by scholars worldwide, who were worried about this new trend to sell research items; in this particular case they pointed out that the seller did not even add a clause imposing open access to the items for research to the prospective owner.³⁰

The Sotheby's auction of 2003 has been recalled briefly in an article of 2006 by R.J. Schork – one of the two contributions from which Johnson starts his discussion – but he misses some important details that are worth recalling

²⁷ See the list in *P.Oxy.* 16, pp. 275-279.

²⁸ *Fine Books and Manuscripts Including Americana: New York Friday 20 June 2003*, Sotheby's New York 2003, 88-100. The Oxyrhynchus papyri on sale were: 1462, 1471, 1520, 1548, 1707, 1721 (lot 92); 1583, 1675, 1669, 1748, 1755, 1760, 1768 (lot 93); 1256, 1265 (lot 94); 1423, 1638, 1691, 1722, 1733 (lot 95); 1382 one item with 1445 (lot 96); our 1780 (lot 97); 1351 (lot 98); 1601, 1784 (lot 99); 1300, 1494, 1592 (lot 100). Lot 100 was purchased by Macquarie University. *P.Oxy.* 12.1567 results as "not found" in Coles' *Location List* (n. 17), and in fact does not appear in the Catalogue. The following papyri were acquired later by the British Museum (October 2008): 1462, 1471, 1520, 1548, 1675, 1707, 1721, 1583, 1669, 1755, 1760, and 1768.

²⁹ This is explained in the catalogue description of the second auction of 2008, on which see below, available on line, <http://www.sothebys.com/fr/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.pdf.L08241.html/f/23/L08241-23.pdf> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

³⁰ Johnson (n. 2) 220 based on R.J. Schork, "The Singular Circumstances of an errant Papyrus," *Arion* 16.2 (2008) 37-38 on which more below.

here.³¹ Right after the auction, P39, which rested for so long first under the Egyptian sands and then in the vaults of various libraries, started a new life as a big star of the cabinet of curiosities that formed the exhibit *Ink & Blood: Dead Sea Scrolls to Gutenberg*.³² This remarkable event, which had the aim to illustrate the history of western civilization through its most relevant book, the Bible, was curated by a physician called William H. Noah, and toured in a good number of American museums from June 2004 to November 2009, as one can read on its still active website.³³ In his article, Schork reports that “Ink & Blood inc.” was the purchaser of the papyrus, and comments that the papyrus was probably acquired in order to be exhibited at such events because of its appeal not only as one of the first testimonies of the Gospel of John, but also for its palaeographical qualities and visual impact. This last is an interesting point, although the story of the acquisition is far more complex. What follows is an attempted reconstruction based on the information I was able to gather.

Ink & Blood: Dead Sea Scrolls to Gutenberg has had many incarnations. Behind its first steps there was a society, HisStory, LLC, comprising three partners: the above mentioned William H. Noah, Lee Biondi, a manuscript dealer based in Santa Barbara, California, and Bruce C. Ferrini.³⁴ Ferrini was a famous ancient manuscripts collector and dealer and one of the main characters of the

³¹ The two articles are Schork (n. 30), esp. pp. 37-38 on the papyrus at the center of our interest, and K. Fleischer, “Die Teilung von P. Oxy. III 448,” *ZPE* 172 (2010) 201-200.

³² The exhibit took different names and forms. See details below. Its website has a page devoted to the papyrus at the center of our interest, <http://www.inkandblood.com/the-collection/item-detail.php?PRKey=53> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

³³ <http://www.inkandblood.com> (last accessed on 7 April 2015). Possibly, a reshaped version of the exhibit toured in Anaheim Muzeo and elsewhere in 2012; see http://www.muzeo.org/exhibit_past.html. P39 features in a YouTube video (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xzGB1wsaK6o>, last accessed on 7 April 2015) publicizing the event, but the papyrus at that time was certainly in the Green Collection, on which see below, and part of their touring exhibit *Passages I*.

³⁴ See R. Kraft, “Pursuing Papyri and Papyrology by Way of eBay: A Preliminary Report,” available at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/papyri/ebay/report-2007/report-2007.html> (last accessed on 7 April 2015), report given to the 25th International Congress of Papyrology (Ann Arbor, 3 August 2007). See also the dossier regarding the Gospel of Judas collected by Roger Pearse: http://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/manuscripts/gospel_of_judas/ (last updated on 30 March 2011, last accessed on 7 April 2015), especially the sections on Ferrini and Ferrel. The exhibit featured also the Marzeah papyrus, on the troublesome discovery and publication of which see Edward C. Cook, “Thoughts on the Marzeah Papyrus,” *Ralph The Sacred River* 25 January 2005 <http://ralphriver.blogspot.co.uk/2005/01/thoughts-on-marzeah-papyrus.html> (last accessed on 7 April 2015). On Lee Biondi see his website including the CV, <http://www.biondirarebooks.com> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

codex Tchacos affair.³⁵ He had often acted on the edge of legality and taken big financial risks, until he encountered serious financial troubles and filed for bankruptcy in September 2005.³⁶ The 2005 bankruptcy was preceded by that of HisStory, LLC in February 2004, after Noah sued the two partners over his share of the profits. According to rumors circulating at the time and posted by the dealer M. van Rijn³⁷ on his website, there was a financial partner that backed up the operation, James Ferrell, who according to Van Rijn was the

³⁵ The codex Tchacos appeared on the Egyptian antiquities market in the late 1970. It contains four Coptic texts belonging to the Gnostic corpus (the Letter of Peter to Philip, a version of the first revelation of James, the Gospel of Judas, and the Book of the Allogenes) and was apparently associated with other three codices, bearing a mathematical treatise in Greek, the Book of Exodus in Greek, and a translation of the letters of Paul in Coptic (some pages of this one went confused with the Tchacos codex). The codex left Egypt at some point, passed through the hands of various dealers, and was offered to different potential purchasers, including some Universities' libraries. In 2000, Bruce Ferrini bought it from Frieda Nussberger-Tchacos, a dealer of Egyptian origins, owner of Gallery Nefer in Geneva. The passage of ownership involved a long and complicated legal controversy between the two; in the meanwhile both dealers had justice problems for their activities (more below on this); see H. Krosney, *The Lost Gospel: The Quest for the Gospel of Judas Iscariot* (Washington, DC 2006), and J.M. Robinson, *The Secrets of Judas. The Story of the Misunderstood Disciple and His Gospel* (San Francisco 2007), both to be read with N. Brodie, "The Lost, Found, Lost again and Found again Gospel of Judas," *Culture Without Context: The Newsletter of the Illicit Antiquities Research Centre* 19 (2006) 17-27. Some dispersed leaves of the Tchacos codex, retrieved later on the antiquities market, were repatriated to Egypt in 2009, while the most substantial part of it is currently deposited at the Bodmer Foundation in Geneva waiting to be restituted to Egypt as established by Nussberger-Tchacos; see H. Krosney, M. Meyer, and G. Wurst, "Preliminary Report on New Fragments of Codex Tchacos," *Early Christianity* 1 (2010) 282-285.

³⁶ On Bruce Ferrini and the codex Tchacos see Krosney (n. 35), esp. chapter 12, and Robinson (n. 35), esp. 6-9 and 59-91; see also Brodie (n. 35), esp. 20-22. For an outline of Bruce Ferrini's career see his obituary by Dorothy Shinn on *Ohio.com Akron Beacon Journal*, 14 May 2010, available at <http://www.ohio.com/news/bruce-ferrini-akron-rare-book-dealer-dies-at-60-1.169713> (last accessed on 7 April 2015) besides the two above-mentioned volumes. On the selling of parts of his collection via eBay see Kraft (n. 34).

³⁷ Van Rijn is an art and antiquities dealer who started denouncing his colleagues, although remaining a controversial personality; see his autobiography, *Hot Art Cold Cash* (London 1993) and the documentary that the BBC dedicated to him, *The Artworld Dodger*, freely available on YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t05Q8FQZmKA> in four parts, last accessed on 7 April 2015).

funder and owner of *Ink & Blood*.³⁸ In order to give a more precise idea of the material assembled by *Ink & Blood* and the dealers and collectors involved, it is important to recall that a leaf from the codex of the Pauline letters in Copitic associated with the codex Tchacos and possibly a page from the codex itself were part of the exhibit too.³⁹

Whoever he was, the buyer of P39 must have hoped to make up the very large amount of money paid for it through the sale of tickets for the exhibit and of connected merchandise. For Ferrini, those were the years immediately following the Tchacos codex money losses. It is worth noting that at the bottom of the great marketing operation mounted later around the Gospel of Judas, by the Maecenas Foundation and *National Geographic* magazine, could lie an idea initially developed by Bruce C. Ferrini. This seems to be implied by some information contained in one of the books published as part of the Gospel of Judas campaign, authored by the journalist H. Krosney.⁴⁰ He reports the plans of Ferrini and his companion Bill Veres, consisting of international exhibition tours of the codex, the publication of a facsimile followed by a scholarly edition, and a big media campaign. "Project First Word," as it was named by Ferrini, flopped when the major prospective financial partner, James Ferrell, backed off. The Judas Gospel's case deserves to be remembered and considered as an analogy for the exhibits such as *Ink & Blood* of which our papyrus had been part and more broadly for the wider study of the economics of papyri. In fact, papyri are not only cultural heritage objects, but also commodities exchanged at different rates after their discovery. Moreover, as *Ink & Blood* and other exhibitions and media operations prove, economic enterprises involving complex structures with the aim of generating incomes have been created around papyri

³⁸ The website of van Rijn disappeared at some point but a mirror site of the relevant part is available via the archive.org: <http://archive.today/iTbMP> (last accessed on 7 April 2015: originally posted on 11 November 2005, it was archived through the "Wayback machine").

³⁹ On the recovery of the page from the Pauline letters codex see C. Askeland, "Coptic Text of the Pauline Epistles," *Evangelical Textual Criticism* 16 April 2009 <http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.it/2009/04/coptic-text-of-pauline-epistles.html> (last accessed on 7 April 2015); Kasser mentions the finding of a page from the ending of James in R. Kasser, M. Meyer, and G. Wurst, *The Gospel of Judas* (Washington, DC 2006) 74-75: "Just such a decorated page (colophon) appeared mysteriously in the catalog of a roving religious exhibition in the United States, showing a bottom fragment of page 30, containing the final title 'James' ..." I have been unable to access a copy of the *Ink & Blood* exhibition catalogue.

⁴⁰ Krosney (n. 35), chapter 12.

collections or special items.⁴¹ While *Ink & Blood* was certainly a flop, merchandising and the organization of public events are part of normal business activities of museums, libraries, and collections worldwide. These economic aspects eventually connected with the ownership of papyri and other ancient artefacts tend to be forgotten by scholars, since their focus is mostly the cultural value of such artefacts; but it is worth remembering that there is a market and an economy which rely on the circulation of these objects.

Let us go back to the historical outline. As a consequence of these somewhat unclear events, P39 stopped touring with *Ink & Blood* at some point and certainly went back to Sotheby's auction house in London, on December 3, 2008. However, this time it failed to sell. Possibly the price was too high, as the economic recession was at its peak. The reality is that we cannot know what happened because of the private, reserved character of such auctions. At that time, as for the previous auction, there was much discussion especially among biblical scholars on dedicated blogs, forums, and emailing lists.⁴²

Then silence fell upon P39, until it resurfaced as part of the private collection of biblical artefacts of David Green and his family, owners of the American Hobby Lobby Corporation. The story of the formation of this collection, which includes about 40,000 items ranging from cuneiform tablets to the Lunar Bible,⁴³ is very interesting. According to their own account, the Green family started collecting in 2009.⁴⁴ Today their collection tours the world via different exhibits (*Verbum Domini I* and *II* in Vatican City, *Passages I* and *II* throughout the US, and *Book of the Books* in Israel), while awaiting the open-

⁴¹ E.g. the exhibit of the Artemidorus papyrus in Turin from 8 February to 7 May 2006 in connection with the Winter Olympics; see C. Gallazzi, S. Settis (eds), *Le tre vite del papiro di Artemidoro. Voci e sguardi dall'Egitto greco-romano* (Milano 2006), and most recently the Smithsonian coverage on the fragment of the so-called wife of Jesus fragment.

⁴² E.g. on *Evangelical Textual Criticism*, the blog maintained by Peter Head and Tommy Wassermann; see <http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.co.uk/2008/11/p39-for-sale-again.html> and <http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.co.uk/2008/12/p39-and-0313-failed-to-sell-at-sothebys.html> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

⁴³ The Lunar Bible is a photochromic micro-imaging version of the King James Bible especially produced to be sent on Apollo 12 mission to the moon; on this fascinating story see D. Trobisch, J. Atwood, J. Kirkpatrick, and R. Crowley, *Verbum Domini II. God's Word Goes out to the Nations* (Washington, DC 2014) 202–206.

⁴⁴ See, e.g., the interview of Steve Green, son of David Green, current CEO of Hobby Lobby and patron of the Museum of the Bible, with S. Hindmann, "We Are Story Tellers First," *Les Enluminures* (Autumn 2013) 32–37.

ing of a dedicated Museum of the Bible in Washington DC in 2017.⁴⁵ The Green family has also founded the Green Scholars Initiative (from now on GSI), directed first by Jerry Pattengale and currently by Michael Holmes. The GSI groups a committee of senior scholars supervising the teaching, learning, and research activities of a wider number of academics and students located in different countries. Clearly, the GSI covers many areas of expertise related to the artefacts of the collection, ranging from the Dead Sea Scrolls to medieval and modern Bible collections.⁴⁶ Currently there is one papyrologist listed as “Scholar” on the GSI: Jeffrey Fish (Distinguished Scholar of Greek Texts, Baylor University).⁴⁷ There is also a dedicated curator of the papyri, Josephine Dru, among the staff members.

Since February 2014, the director of the Green collection is David Trobisch. The first head of the collection, however, and the Green’s mentor for acquisitions from 2009 to 2012 was Scott Carroll, current owner of Scott Carroll Manuscripts & Rare Books, Inc. Before his arrival at the Green collection, Carroll held a similar position at the Van Kampen collection,⁴⁸ another creation of his, according to the lively account of his career that he has disseminated in videos and interviews online.⁴⁹ It is fascinating to try to understand how these two collections were formed *in such a brief period*.⁵⁰ If we trust what Scott Carroll says in interviews and on his Twitter account about how he operates on the market, some acquisitions must have been made directly from private collectors in Europe, Turkey, and elsewhere.⁵¹ But I wonder how such connections,

⁴⁵ For an overview, see the main portal of the Museum of the Bible, which gives access to the different exhibitions’ websites: <http://www.museumofthebible.org> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

⁴⁶ See the GSI website <http://www.greenscholarsinitiative.org> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

⁴⁷ Dirk Obbink was a member of the GSI until recently.

⁴⁸ See the collections’ website at <http://www.solagroup.org/vkc.html>; about 5,000 papyrus fragments, dating from the pharaonic to the 8th century AD, are said to be held in the collection. Similarly to David Green, Robert Van Kampen (1938-1999), founder of the eponymous collection, had a deep interest in the Bible and was animated by a profound evangelical Christian faith.

⁴⁹ See for instance the two videos inserted into the online article G. Thomas, “Green Collection Uncovers Journey of God’s Word,” *Christian Broadcasting Network* 7 April 2012, <http://www.cbn.com/cbnnews/world/2012/April/Green-Collection-Uncovers-Journey-of-Gods-Word/> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

⁵⁰ This point has been recently noted also by Pintaudi et al. (n. 15) 360.

⁵¹ See R. Mazza, “Papyri, the Bible, and the Formation of the Green Collection,” *Faces & Voices* 16 February 2014, <http://facesandvoices.wordpress.com/2014/02/16/papyri-the-bible-and-the-formation-of-the-green-collection/> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

conversations, and, later, purchase agreements could be established. In other words, the *realia* of these transactions remain opaque to the general public.

Our papyrus was bought by the Green family in February 2010.⁵² It was displayed in *Passages I*, the exhibit curated by Scott Carroll that toured in the US from 2011 on. In 2010-2011, it was also used for both teaching and research purposes at the University of Mary Hardyn-Baylor, under the supervision of Renate Hood, professor of Christian Studies at that University and scholar of the Green Scholars Initiative. That she was a GSI scholar is mentioned in her university website and was also mentioned in a dedicated Green Scholars Initiative webpage that I have seen, but which has since been removed. In any case, Renate Hood gives an enlightening statement on the Green Scholars Initiative “vision” at that time in an interview published in her University’s bulletin:

“The vision is let’s get the undergraduate students involved and let’s get the smaller schools involved who normally do not get these opportunities,” Hood said. “Let’s get them excited about the word of God and the world of the Bible. I love that vision.”⁵³

The aim of the Green Scholars Initiative to introduce papyri to those hitherto un- or underexposed to them has a laudable and uncontroversial aspect. Translated into current university rhetoric, papyri enhance the students’ experience, which is certainly true. When the papyri are biblical, as in the case of our P39, for the Green Scholars and others they also enhance the level of students’ interest for the word of God and the Bible. This leads us to the religious meanings and added values Biblical manuscripts have for some collectors, scholars, students, and members of the wider, general public and how they impact the politics and economics connected with these artefacts. The wish to procure excitement for the word of God and the world of the Bible is pursued by the Green family and their collaborators through a complex and interesting cultural enterprise that includes the collecting of artefacts related to the Bible, their display in popular exhibits, and the promotion of research and teaching

⁵² Personal communication via email from Josephine Dru, on 21 May 2014. See also G. Fabrikant, “Craft Shop Family Buys Up Ancient Bibles for Museum,” *International New York Times* online edition, 11 June 2010 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/12/business/12bibles.html?pagewanted=all&r=0>, last accessed on 7 April 2015). Also another papyrus originally sold by Crozer Seminary in 2003 is now with the Green Collection, P.Oxy. 11.1351 (personal communication via email from Josephine Dru on 6 June 2014).

⁵³ B. Montgomery, “Bible Scholars Study Manuscripts,” *The Bells*, 29 March 2011, available at <http://thebells.umhb.edu/2011/03/29/bible-scholars-study-manuscript/> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

methods that rely on them. The emotional, religious, and ideological investment in these artefacts in cases like those of the Green collection is special and has a direct effect on their economic value. As we have seen in the case of *P.Oxy.* 15.1780 (P39), the Christian content of it played a major role first in the record price it reached on auction and secondly in the way the manuscript was commercialised in public exhibits.

I find the vicissitudes of *P.Oxy.* 15.1780 (P39) very interesting in many respects. First of all, they enlighten the close ties linking papyrology to the search for and study of biblical and early Christian texts. Many of the scholars travelling to Egypt from the 19th century onwards have been moved by religious and biblical interests: C. von Tischendorf, A. and M. Smith (A. Lewis and M. Gibson), J. Rendel Harris, C. Schmidt, and A. Deissmann, to mention only a few.⁵⁴ One of the reasons why Grenfell and Hunt chose to excavate in Oxyrhynchus was the historical background of the city, which was promising not only for the retrieval of classical literary texts and everyday writings of ancient people, but also for that of early Christian writings.⁵⁵ They proved to be right, as we all know. The Oxford Dioscuri were careful media communicators and always played up the importance of all three kinds of texts in promoting their work and research.⁵⁶ In particular, they perfectly knew which one of the three to use for stimulating funding from collectors. The first letter A.S. Hunt sent to Mrs Rylands after her purchase of the Crawford collection of papyri in August 1901 is revelatory in this respect (see Appendix 2.1). Mrs Enriqueta Rylands and her deceased husband were devoted non-conformist Christians. They actively promoted the study of the Bible through different initiatives such as collecting copies of the text and sponsoring evangelical activities in the UK and abroad. This biblical and theological passion culminated in the foundation of a library dedicated to the memory of her husband by Mrs Rylands.⁵⁷ In order

⁵⁴ On these connections see most recently Gange (n. 11); see also J. Soskice, *Sisters of Sinai: How Two Lady Adventurers Found the Hidden Gospels* (London 2009), with a lively account of the interactions between the first European scholars going to Egypt at that time. On Deissmann in Egypt, see R. Mazza, "Graeco-Roman Egypt at Manchester: The Formation of the Rylands Papyri Collection," in Schubert (n. 22) 505-506, and A. Gerber, *Deissmann the Philologist* (Berlin and New York 2010) 137-143.

⁵⁵ See B.P. Grenfell, "Oxyrhynchus and Its Papyri," *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report* 6 (1896-7), reprinted in "Excavations at Oxyrhynchus (1896-1907)," in A.K. Bowman, R.A. Coles, N. Gonis, D. Obbink, and P.J. Parsons (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (London 2007) 345-346.

⁵⁶ See D. Montserrat, "News Reports: The Excavations and Their Journalistic Coverage," in Bowman et al. (n. 55) 28-39.

⁵⁷ See D.A. Farnie, "Enriqueta Augustina Rylands (1843-1908), Founder of the John Rylands Library," *BJRL* 71 (1979) 16-32; id., "John Rylands of Manchester," *BJRL* 75/2

to get funds for the forthcoming campaign of 1901/1902, Hunt reminded the wealthy Manchester lady of the weaknesses in her collection in a few, carefully constructed sentences, where the lack of theological texts appear in the first position of a longer list.

The biography of $\mathfrak{P}39$ could be compared to that of a similar papyrus in the Rylands collection, *P.Ryl.* 3 457 (= $\mathfrak{P}52$). Both papyri come from Grenfell and Hunt's activities in Egypt and are small fragments of the Gospel of John. They are both from codex leaves and have received great attention from scholars and the public in general because of their early dating. But there are also differences in the histories of these fragments. Having rested in the John Rylands Library since its purchase in 1920 and following arrival to Manchester, so far $\mathfrak{P}52$ has experienced much less threats than $\mathfrak{P}39$. Any time a papyrus goes on sale, there is the risk for it to end up in a collection with poor policies on conservation and access, or even worse for it to be acquired by someone who does not care at all about these issues. The Tchacos codex, for instance, has dramatically deteriorated in the course of years, passing from one dealer to another; Bruce Ferrini dismembered and sold fragments from it and stored the codex in a freezer for a while.⁵⁸ The lack of information about the ownership and location of $\mathfrak{P}39$ after the first Sotheby's auction until 2010 is a warning for papyrologists to exercise more pressure on collectors, collections, and dealers to find effective ways to prevent the disappearing of vital historical evidence. Papyri may be in the legal ownership of individuals or institutions, but they are first and foremost humanity's cultural patrimony, which must be preserved for future generations.

The selling of the New Testament fragment and other papyri from Crozer Theological Seminary is not an isolated case. The Bodmer Foundation, for instance, put on sale the famous *P.Bodmer* XIV and XV that were transferred to the Vatican Library in 2006.⁵⁹ The history of the sale is very interesting. It appears that some approaches to the Bodmer Foundation were made by the

(1993) 17-37.

⁵⁸ See Kasser et al. (n. 39) 47-76; Brodie (n. 35) 22-23; on new fragments emerged from the antiquities market see also Krosney et al. (n. 35) 282-294.

⁵⁹ $\mathfrak{P}75$, LDAB 2895: two pages from a codex that originally contained the Gospels of Luke and John, and one of the most ancient testimony of the order of the two books in the New Testament, since *P.Bodmer* XV bears the end of Luke followed by John 1. It dates to 200-250 according to Clarysse and Orsini (n. 3) 456-57 and 471. Other fragments from the same codex have been published most recently, see M.-L. Lakmann, "Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV ($\mathfrak{P}75$) Neue Fragmente," *Museum Helveticum* 64 (2007) 22-41, and J.M. Robinson, "Fragments from the Cartonnage of $\mathfrak{P}75$," *HTR* 101 (2008) 231-252.

Holy See in 1999 without success.⁶⁰ Later on, in 2006, the Bodmer Foundation entrusted Christie's of London with the private sale of the abovementioned papyri, not without criticisms from the academic side.⁶¹ Despite competing institutions and the high price asked, the manuscripts were finally acquired by the American magnate Frank J. Hanna III, who presented them to Pope Benedict XVI; the papyri are now stored in the Vatican Library. Later on, *P. Bodmer XXIV* was also sold, to the Green family. The sale was negotiated privately, and this time academics learnt about the transfer only after the papyrus went on exhibit in Rome in 2014.⁶²

Although details on transactions involving papyri remain in most cases hidden,⁶³ when big auction houses are involved prices are sometimes available through catalogues and online databases. They form an interesting pool of data through which we can observe the economics of papyri more closely. Let us start considering the prices realized for the Oxyrhynchus papyri sold in 2003 with $\mathfrak{P}39$: lot 94 went from an estimated \$4,000-6,000 to an actual sale price of \$33,000 (ca. 450% more); lot 99, two Christian papyri, went from \$10,000-15,000 to \$142,000 (ca. 846% more); lot 92 went from \$4,000-6,000 to \$25,000 (ca. 315% more); lot 95 and 93 went each from \$3,000-5,000 to \$20,400 (ca. 307% more); lot 100 went from \$4,000-6,000 to \$31,200 (ca. 420% more); lot 97, our Gospel of John's fragment, went from \$125,000-175,000 to \$450,000 (ca. 157% more).⁶⁴

⁶⁰ I am following the account given by L.J. Spiteri, "His Eminence, Cardinal Raffaele Farina, SBD, and the Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV," in A.M. Piazzoni (ed.), *Studi in onore del cardinale Raffaele Farina 2* (Vatican City 2013) 1093-1097.

⁶¹ See e.g. A. Beaumont, "War of Words Erupts over Sale of Ancient Texts," *Swiss.info* 28 October 2006, with comments from Paul Schubert (available at <http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/war-of-words-erupts-over-sale-of-ancient-texts/5527548>, last accessed on 7 April 2015).

⁶² See Trobisch et al. (n. 43) 19-21. I sent an email to Paul Schubert after I visited the exhibit in April 2014, and he was unaware of the sale. The information was circulated later on through the papy-list.

⁶³ E.g. Westminster College, Cambridge, has recently sold the Codex Climaci Rescriptus and the Cairo Genizah fragments in its possession. The Codex Climaci Rescriptus failed to sell on 2 July 2009 at Sotheby's, but was purchased by the Green family one year later. The Cairo Genizah fragments have been bought by the Bodleian Library (Oxford) and Cambridge University Library in 2013 through a joint fundraising initiative. The Oxyrhynchus papyri sold by United Theological Seminar, Dayton, Ohio, in 2009 are also with the Green Collection: *P.Oxy.* 11.1353, *P.Oxy.* 12.1459, *P.Oxy.* 14.1678, 1688, 1728, 1756, 1775, and 1779. In all these cases information on the prices is unavailable.

⁶⁴ See the list in footnote 27; data retrieved through Sotheby's online databank available at <http://www.sothebys.com/en.html> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

The Schøyen collection sold 60 manuscripts, among them papyri, through Sotheby's on 12 July 2012.⁶⁵ The Adler papyri (lot 3) were bought for the University of Copenhagen and joined the Carlsberg collection. They were sold for £457,250, with an increase of about 128% over the estimated price. Similar increases were obtained on the sale of lot 1, fragments of the *Iliad* previously in the private collection of Michael Fackelmann, and lot 3, the so-called Wyman fragment, a parchment with lines from St. Paul's letter to the Romans.⁶⁶ The substantial increase in the price at these two auctions is due to the combination of supply and demand: demand for papyri of this kind – in good condition, with important texts on them, and of documented provenance – is high, but supply is very low. The supply is especially low for papyri bearing Biblical texts like the one at the centre of this article. Early Christian texts predating Constantine the Great are very rare for different reasons, ranging from the scarcity of Christians living in Egypt at that time to the uses of written texts they made in the first three century of their history, and so on.⁶⁷ While supply is low, demand for such pieces is particularly high, because of the special cultural, religious, and ideological meanings papyri of this type have in Western societies and in particular for some individuals and groups in them, as I already explained.

Provenance is a very important factor in price formation too.⁶⁸ Papyri are rare commodities because in the course of their modern history they have gone

⁶⁵ *The History of Script: Sixty Important Manuscript Leaves from the Schøyen Collection*, 10 July 2012, Sotheby's London available on line at <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/2012/the-history-of-script-sixty-important-manuscript-leaves-from-the-schøyen-collection.html> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

⁶⁶ Michael Fackelmann was a conservator of the National Library of Vienna around 1970-1980, who became also a collector and dealer. He sold papyri to many collections in Europe (e.g. Lecce University, see "La collezione dei papiri dell'Università degli Studi di Lecce [PUL]" available at http://www.museopapirologico.eu/?page_id=1194) and the US (e.g. Princeton University; see A. Hanson, "Papyri in the Princeton University Collections: The New Acquisitions," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 44/2 [1983] 159-169). The Wyman fragment (Nestle-Aland 0220/20220) is now in the Green collection.

⁶⁷ See R. Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt* (Princeton 2009) 1-24.

⁶⁸ On the influence of documented provenance on prices see S.R.M. Mackenzie, *Going, Going, Gone: Regulating the Market in Illicit Antiquities* (Leicester 2005) 37-38; N. Brodie, "The Effect of an Artefact's Provenance on its Saleability," *Culture without Context* 19 (2006) 4-6; id., "Provenance and Price: Autoregulation of the Antiquities Market?" *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 20 (2014) 427-444.

through a slow process of “singularization,” to use Kopytoff’s terminology.⁶⁹ The cultural meaning modern societies attribute to papyri and other antiquities has transformed them into “singular collectibles” that can be sold only under very special circumstances regulated by national and international laws, generally forbidding in any case such transactions for items that left Egypt after April 1972.⁷⁰ As a result of their cultural heritage status, papyri with documented provenance are mostly in the possession of institutions that as a rule are not going to sell them, while recently found items cannot appear openly on the market because of current legislation. This situation has an impact on the price of papyri of well-documented provenance when they appear on sale. The point is corroborated by dealers’ experience; for instance, in a recent paper on the antiquities market, James Ede (of Charles Ede Ltd., London) explains: “You have only to look at the disparity in values between objects with provable provenance and those without – even when those have long collection history which cannot be proved – to see how much store the trade now sets by legitimacy.”⁷¹

Now provenance is a complicated question. I use the term to indicate the history of a papyrus (or any other ancient objects) from its archaeological finding to its present location in a museum, library, antiquities shop, or even private house. Very often, details of such history are incomplete, lost, or obscure. For instance, it is unclear from which Oxyrhynchus campaign P39 came from, and we cannot even exclude the possibility it was purchased by Grenfell in 1920.⁷² Moreover the fragment’s ownership and location present some obscurities from 2003 to 2010. However, we are sure that the piece left

⁶⁹ On the dynamics of “singularization,” i.e. the transformation of commodities into higher-priced commodities of special, controlled status, see Kopytoff, “The Cultural Biography of Things” (n. 1) 80–83.

⁷⁰ The date of the enforcement of the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property of 14 November 1970. On the legal complexities related with the circulation of antiquities, and the different ways the Convention and other international initiatives are interpreted and enforced see most recently J. Ulph and I. Smith, *The Illicit Trade in Art and Antiquities: International Recovery and Criminal and Civil Liability* (Oxford and Portland 2012) 27–77.

⁷¹ J. Ede, “Dealers: Trade, Traffic and the Consequences of Demonisation,” paper read at the colloquium *To Publish or Not to Publish? A Multidisciplinary Approach to the Politics, Ethics and Economics of Ancient Artefacts* (Manchester, 25 October 2014) available at <https://facesandvoices.wordpress.com/to-publish-or-not-to-publish/programme/james-edel/> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

⁷² See above, n. 6. The second hypothesis seems less probable because in theory only the papyri belonging to the Egypt Exploration Fund could be distributed to sponsors.

Egypt legally not later than 1920, and this makes its provenance particularly appealing for the antiquities market under current legislation and in the current cultural climate.

Sometimes papyri do appear on the market or in academic publications with very few information about their provenance, which may even reveal to be unreliable. Let us consider some recent cases. The first is that of the so-called Jesus's wife papyrus. The existence of a Coptic fragment with sentences attributed to a lost apocryphal gospel where Jesus mentioned his wife was announced in 2012 by Karen King during a session of the 10th International Congress of Coptic Studies in Rome; unsurprisingly, the fragment ignited a hot debate for its content and material aspect, and some papyrologists and historians of the Church doubted it was genuine.⁷³ Cultural heritage experts raised questions on the provenance of the papyrus too, although King made a good effort in reporting the contents of the documents relating to the collecting history since the online publication of a provisional pre-print edition of the fragment.⁷⁴ Some details were also added in an interview that appeared in the Smithsonian online magazine.⁷⁵ The definitive publication of the papyrus in the *Harvard Theological Review*⁷⁶ confirmed what she has asserted since the first announcement: the fragment belongs to a private owner, who wants to remain anonymous, and nothing is known about its archaeological finding. There are only a few recent documents relating to its collecting history that King has seen. From them, it appeared that the fragment was bought in 1999 together with five other papyri from a previous German collector, Mr. Hans-Ulrich Laukamp, who purchased the batch in 1963 in Potsdam (East Germany); in the early 1980 the manuscripts were seen by Profs. Peter Munro and Gerhard Fecht of the Berlin Freie Universität, both since deceased. After

However, we cannot rule out the possibility that in practice there was some confusion in the handling of the finds.

⁷³ See e.g. "On the so-called Gospel of Jesus Wife: Some Preliminary Thoughts by Hugo Lundhaug and Alin Suciu," *Alin Suciu Blog* 26 September 2012, <http://alin-suciu.com/2012/09/26/on-the-so-called-gospel-of-jesus-wife-some-preliminary-thoughts-by-hugo-lundhaug-and-alin-suciu/> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

⁷⁴ "Jesus Said to Them, 'My Wife...': A New Coptic Gospel Papyrus," *HTR* (2012) 2-3. See, e.g., the critics moved by D. Gill, "The Gospel of Jesus' Wife from an Old German Collection," *Looting Matters* 19 September 2012, <http://lootingmatters.blogspot.it/2012/09/the-gospel-of-jesus-wife-from-old.html> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

⁷⁵ A. Sabar, "The Inside Story of a Controversial New Text on Jesus," *The Smithsonian.com* 18 September 2012 available at <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-inside-story-of-a-controversial-new-text-about-jesus-41078791> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

⁷⁶ King (n. 74) 153-154.

the circulation of images of the other papyri forming the dossier, the hypothesis that the papyrus is in fact a forgery, and as a consequence the collecting history documents too, has prevailed among scholars.⁷⁷ Whatever the end of the story will be, it demonstrates that modern documents concerning the collecting history of manuscripts are very difficult to evaluate and represent a challenge for scholars as well as for dealers and collectors.⁷⁸

Equally alarming is the acquisition history of a papyrus currently in the Green collection as it has emerged after almost a year of research I have conducted on it. When I visited the exhibit *Verbum Domini II* organised by the Museum of the Bible in Vatican City in 2014, my attention was attracted by a small Coptic fragment of Galatians 2, GC.MS. 462.⁷⁹ I recognized that the papyrus was the same as one on sale through eBay in October 2012. At that time Brice Jones published a post in his blog, with a transcript and some commentary of the papyrus.⁸⁰ This led some cultural heritage bloggers to criticize Jones' behaviour, since it provided more reasons for the dealers to increase the price and to attract possible purchasers; but more worrying was the fact that the eBay seller, MixAntik, was in fact operating illegally from Turkey.⁸¹ In the light of this background, I posed the question of the papyrus' provenance to David Trobisch, director of the Green Collection. The first answer I received was that the papyrus was not purchased on eBay, but was bought by the Green collection in 2013 "through a trusted dealer that we have done business with

⁷⁷ See the compelling arguments made by C. Askeland, "A Fake Coptic John and Its Implications for the 'Gospel of Jesus's Wife,'" *Tyndale Bulletin* 65 (2014) 1-10, with references to the longer debate. The latest issue of *New Testament Studies* (61.3 [2015]) is entirely devoted to the "Gospel of Jesus' Wife" fragment, with articles by C. Askeland and others.

⁷⁸ On the pitfalls of documents accompanying the selling of antiquities see MacKenzie (n. 68), ch. 2.

⁷⁹ See Trobisch et al. (n. 43) 42 with figure 28.

⁸⁰ "A Coptic New Testament Papyrus Fragment" originally posted in *The Quaternion* on 29 October 2012, now migrated to <http://www.bricecjones.com/blog/a-coptic-new-testament-papyrus-fragment-galatians-2-for-sale-on-ebay> (last accessed on 7 April 2015).

⁸¹ The critique was moved by Dorothy Loebel King and others. On MixAntik and its different incarnations see: "The Tale of the Very Dodgy Papyri," *Dorothy King's PhDiva* 14 December 2012 <http://phdiva.blogspot.ca/2012/12/the-tale-of-very-dodgy-papyri.html>; "More Dodgy Papyri..." *Dorothy King's PhDiva* 20 December 2012 <http://phdiva.blogspot.it/2012/12/more-dodgy-papyri.html>; "Yet More Dodgy Papyri..." *Dorothy King's PhDiva* 1 January 2013 <http://phdiva.blogspot.it/2013/01/yet-more-dodgy-dealings.html> (all last accessed on 7 April 2015).

over many years.”⁸² The situation, however, became more complicated later on. In November 2014, I was informed that further researches in the collection archives revealed that GC.MS. 462 came from the David Robinson’s papyri sold through a Christie’s auction in 2011.⁸³

Christie’s catalogue of that auction⁸⁴ describes lot 1 as composed by 59 packets of papyri fragments, a number but not all of which coming from the collection bequeathed to the University of Mississippi by David M. Robinson, late professor at that University. The papyri of the Mississippi University were de-accessioned by the institution in the early 1980 and dispersed among different purchasers.⁸⁵ Two of the lot’s 59 packets are stated to come from the collection of P. Deaton. Interestingly, this Christie’s lot is the same from which the recently published Sappho fragments, now with the Green collection (*PGC*. inv. 105) and an anonymous London collector (*P.Sapph. Obbink*), derive. These came in the shape of “domestic or industrial cartonnage” before the London collector and his staff dismounted it, restored the fragments, and decided to re-sell some of them without realising their content.⁸⁶ This new piece of information on GC.MS. 462 poses questions of very difficult solution because of the reserved nature of auction sales: it would be very interesting to know how a papyrus went from one of the most famous auction houses in the world

⁸² Personal communication via email dated 10 May 2014.

⁸³ In an email dated 18 November 2014, David Trobisch wrote to me the following: “Our research has since shown that the Gal fragment came from the David Robinson collection, 1950, and was sold through Christie’s in 2011. Why it showed up on eBay, I don’t know. But it was offered to us through regular channels. We have export licenses, it went through US customs, the IRS evaluation was done without raising any flags when it was donated by the Green family to the Museum of the Bible collection.”

⁸⁴ *Fine Printed Books and Manuscripts Including a Selection from the Malcolm Jr. Churchill Collection and Photo Books from the Calle Collection, Monday 28 November 2011* (London 2011) 2, reproduced also on line: <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/books-manuscripts/a-collection-of-greek-and-coptic-papyri-5504745-details.aspx>. The lot sold for £7,500, i.e. £ 2,500 more than the highest estimate.

⁸⁵ See J.M. Robinson, *The Story of the Bodmer Papyri: From the First Monastery’s Library in Upper Egypt to Geneva and Dublin* (Cambridge 2011) 92–93.

⁸⁶ D. Obbink, “Provenance, Authenticity and Text of the New Sappho Papyri,” Paper Read at the Society of Classical Studies Panel: New Fragments of Sappho, New Orleans 9 January 2015, available at <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/Fragments/SCS.Sappho.2015.Obbink.paper.pdf> (last accessed on 7 April 2015); see p. 3 on the quality of the cartonnage and p. 2 on the recovery and following selling of some of the fragments. See also D. Obbink, “Interim Notes on ‘Two Poems of Sappho,’” *ZPE* 194 (2015) 5. The Sappho papyri were previously published without any information on their provenance, S. Burris, J. Fish, and D. Obbink, “New Fragments of Book 1 of Sappho,” *ZPE* 189 (2014) 1–28; D. Obbink, “Two Poems by Sappho,” *ZPE* 189 (2014) 32–49.

to a Turkish seller who was operating without any awareness of his country's legislation on the selling and exporting of antiquities and communicated in a very poor English with his possible clients.⁸⁷ What kind of relationship there is between MixAntik and the Green collection's trusted dealer who sold them the piece in 2013 is another point which will remain obscure, unless the director of that collection will reveal more details on the acquisition documents that came with the Galatians 2 fragment.

Surprising details on the way Christie's takes care of the ancient manuscripts sold in their rooms emerged from email conversations with Eugenio Donadoni of the manuscripts department in London. I asked Donadoni if an inventory and images of the pieces contained in the above mentioned 59 folders were available for consultation; I found it odd that nobody noticed the presence of a New Testament fragment among the Robinson papyri, because they are not too common and the Robinson papyri have been seen by papyrologists in the past.⁸⁸ It turned out that Christie's has no record of that lot, except the scanty one page description published in the catalogue, since there is no firm policy on the keeping of images and data of the manuscripts on sale. It is evident that the lack of inventories and images constitutes a serious threat to the manuscripts' collection history and can lead to the loss of important information concerning the legal (or illegal) provenance of artefacts. Because of the poor status of the documentation available, how can we be certain that the Galatians 2 fragment, for instance, was part of the Robinson papyri and not of the Deaton's collection or any other in that lot?

The cases I have discussed demonstrate how complicated it sometimes is to establish the provenance of papyri and as a result what kind of challenges we face when publishing them. To study and to publish are always parts of a longer chain of actions involving the manuscripts in question, from their finding to the present location and ownership; as Johnson has recalled in his article on the EEF papyri and artefacts, we must be aware of how these were found, exported, and distributed to institutions and donors, recognizing the positive and negative sides of those enterprises, because we are part of those stories.⁸⁹ Now, a papyrus with an unclear acquisition history poses an ethical problem to scholars. To publish a papyrus of undocumented provenance is

⁸⁷ Dorothy Lobel King has kindly forwarded me emails exchanges entertained at that time with the dealer.

⁸⁸ W.H. Willis, "The New Collection of Papyri at the University of Mississippi," *Pap. Congr. X* (1964) 381-382 gives many details on the quality and contents of the papyri; for more information on the acquisition circumstances and history of the collection, see Robinson (n. 85) 83-94.

⁸⁹ Johnson (n. 2), esp. 220-222.

a substantial step in making it more legitimate and more presentable on the market and in the wider community engaged with the item, from academics to the general audience. When some of the actions that have brought a papyrus to us for study and publication are unethical, or – even worse – illegal, we end up being partially responsible for them. Besides ethics, we must also consider the law, because to give expertise on and to publish illegally acquired antiquities can have serious legal consequences. In sum, the engagement with such objects puts academics in a very precarious position in many respects.⁹⁰

The difficulties connected with decisions regarding the publication of papyri with poorly documented (if not undocumented) provenance are even more acute when they are of great academic interest: is scholarship more important than ethics and the law? Would it be possible to find a compromise between respecting the laws and ethical codes and saving objects of unclear provenance from oblivion? The recent case of the new Palladas epigrams papyrus shows that we are still looking for firm answers on these matters. The codex, acquired by the Beinecke Library in 1996, has been published recently in the American Studies in Papyrology series with few and vague information on its acquisition circumstances,⁹¹ which seems at odds with the policy established in the ASP Resolution Concerning the Illicit Trade of Papyri of 2007.

⁹⁰ See N. Brodie, “Consensual Relations? Academic Involvement in the Illegal Trade in Ancient Manuscripts,” in P. Green, S. MacKenzie (eds.), *Criminology and Archaeology: Studies in Looted Antiquities* (Oxford 2009) 41–58.

⁹¹ K. Wilson, *New Epigrams of Palladas: A Fragmentary Papyrus Codex (P.CtYBR inv.4000)* (Ann Arbor 2013). In the introduction (footnote 1, p. 1), the author states that the codex and other fragments are accessed in the Beinecke’s inventory as “Acquisition 1996a.” The papyri came into a box containing also other fragments of documentary nature, dated to different centuries and from different Egyptian sites. This box was purchased from Gallery Nefer, the Zurich gallery owned by Frieda Nussberger-Tchacos. He concludes: “There is no discernible coherence to the items that comprise this acquisition, and it is likely they were thrown together, from a variety of sources, by an earlier collector or dealer. The box of fragments was said to have come from a recently (in 1996) deceased collector of Egyptian artifacts who formed the collection in the 1950s and 60s in Geneva.” In view of the profile of Frieda Nussberger-Tchacos, who has been condemned by an Italian court of law in relation to illicit export of antiquities in 2002 and has been also involved in the Gospel of Judas affair, the information as reported in this volume does not seem to me to constitute a solid acquisition circumstances dossier. On the investigation involving Frieda Nussberger-Tchacos see “Getty Museum Returns to Italy 2005–2007,” published in *Cultural Heritage Resource*, 27 July 2009 (<https://www.stanford.edu/group/chr/drupal/ref/getty-museum-returns-to-italy-2005-2007>, last accessed on 7 April 2015); for the involvement in the Gospel of Judas affair see n. 35 above, with bibliography.

This forbids members of the Society from participating directly and indirectly in the buying or selling of Egyptian antiquities exported from Egypt after 24 April 1972; in section 2, it also seeks to prevent them from acting in a way to add significant value to objects from illegal excavations or exported from Egypt after 1972, and to exclude the publishing of such material under the Society's auspices "unless the author, or curator includes a frank and thorough discussion of the provenance of every item." In the case of the Yale codex, the reader is only given the information that it was purchased in 1996 (i.e. after 1972), with very scanty details on the acquisition circumstances.⁹² But there is more. Does a brief statement saying that a recently acquired papyrus is from documented, legal provenance given by the editor in an article or other publication suffice to make it such? I personally think it does not, but opinions clearly diverge as the examples discussed in this article have shown.

In conclusion, it is important to remember that papyrologists do have a prominent role in the biographies of papyri. Editorial boards, publishers, museums, libraries, and professional societies have the power to strengthen and enforce policies in order to exercise control over the circulation, handling, and publication of papyri and as a consequence to curb the illicit market of antiquities from Egypt. I personally believe that the magic of Egypt and her world of mummies, masks, papyri, and other treasures cannot erase the important issues at stake when we evaluate – to elaborate from Johnson's words recalled in the opening of this article – the fascinating stories about the discovery, recovery, excavation, politics, and economics of papyri and the role we, scholars, decide to play in them.

Appendix

1. *John Rylands Library Archive, correspondence to Henry Guppy (head librarian from 1900 to 1948), JRL/4/1/1/1905/Grenfell*

*Letter of B.P. Grenfell to F.L. Griffith, 2 May 1897*⁹³

⁹²The ASP resolution is available online (<http://tebtunis.berkeley.edu/ASPresolution.pdf>, last accessed on 7 April 2015).

⁹³The letter's date has no year, but a second hand has added later in pencil "1905?" However, it is clear from the content that the year certainly was 1897. The letter has been found in the correspondence of Henry Guppy, but predates the acquisition of the Crawford manuscripts; therefore my hypothesis is that it was attached to one of the many letters of Griffith to him. Griffith held an honorary position in Egyptology at Manchester from 1896 to 1908, but moved later to Oxford where his papers should have ended up.

Queen's College Oxford, May 2
My Dear Griffith,

Many thanks for Beni Hasan III⁹⁴ which I found on arrival here.

Yes, we have got through 270 out of 273 boxes,⁹⁵ including everything of real value. It was a difficult business as De Morgan⁹⁶ for some time insisted they must have half, but eventually he was satisfied with the 150 big rolls which I had selected for him.⁹⁷ Of course the bulk of the whole collection is very fragmentary but there are several thousand which aren't, so we shall have to be very cautious in announcing our finds. An account will appear in the Times towards the end of the work, but (between ourselves) this rather understates the value of the find.

I am sorry there is very little demotic in our find, nothing, so far as I remember, except fragments and of course nothing earlier than 1st century AD nor have I been able to do much for you in buying. I tried to get the 23 large demotic rolls (two perhaps literary) which Ali⁹⁸ has, for £120, but he wouldn't take it, though I am pretty sure it made an impression on him and I should not be surprised if I get them for that price in a year or two when he is tired of waiting. Revillout⁹⁹ came out but I gather he didn't buy very much. Prices for [corrected from an original "per"] papyri are beyond almost every one now. The only demotic things I have are some which Newberry¹⁰⁰ picked up

⁹⁴ F.L. Griffith, *Beni Hasan 3* (London 1896).

⁹⁵ These should be the boxes of the Oxyrhynchus first campaign that, however, amounted to 280 according to Montserrat (n. 50) 31. According to Montserrat there are no surviving manuscripts by the two papyrologists relating to that campaign in Oxford. In the excavation report of 1896/7 Grenfell states that the papyri arrived at Oxford only in June, while this letter was written in May; my guess is that maybe the boxes were sorted out in Cairo before being sent to Britain, see Grenfell (n. 55) 351.

⁹⁶ Jacques De Morgan (1857-1924), French civil engineer, archaeologist, and pre-history scholar, was the General Director of the Egyptian Antiquity Service from 1892 to 1897. Cf. M. Bierbrier (ed.), *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (London 2012) 386.

⁹⁷ The 150 rolls left to the Gizeh Museum are mentioned in Grenfell (n. 55) 351.

⁹⁸ Ali el-Arabi or Ali Farag, papyrus dealers based in Giza. See Breccia (n. 25) 259-261; Davoli (n. 13) 104.

⁹⁹ The reading of the name seems certain, but I am not sure this indicates Eugène Revillout (1843-1913), the famous French Egyptologist and Demotist; cf. Bierbrier (ed.) (n. 96) 462.

¹⁰⁰ Percy E. Newberry (1868-1949), Egyptologist who worked in close contact with Amelia Edwards, Flinders Petrie, and Griffith, and later had appointments in Liverpool, London, and Cambridge. From 1890 to 1894 he excavated in Beni Hasan and El-Bersha,

cheap at Luxor and sent to me. They are 1 good sized roll contract with Greek docket, written on both sides, and 4 or 5 smaller rolls more or less broken but which may fit together. They all came from Gebelên and are 2nd century BC.¹⁰¹ They cost £4. If you care to have them at that price, I will sent^(sic) you them and return £46 (when you can come and fetch them), if not I will return you the £50, hoping in any case you will lend it me again next winter when inshallah I shall have better luck.

Hoping to see you some time this summer yours ever B.P.G.

2. JRL/6/1/6/2/8 correspondence between A.S. Hunt and Mrs Rylands

An envelope containing three letters of A.S. Hunt to Mrs Rylands and one letter written by the secretary of Mrs Rylands, J.W. Kiddle, to Hunt. The letters were later also copied into a miscellaneous register, in which a section entitled “Copies of letters in connection with the Crawford Manuscripts” collects copies of the correspondence between Mrs Rylands and scholars who were working on those manuscripts and were alarmed by the change of ownership (JRL/6/1/6/1/6).

2.1. Letter of Hunt to Mrs Rylands, 9/10/1901

Queen's college,
Oxford
Oct. 9 1901

Dear Madam,

then in Thebes until 1901. See Brian Fagan, “Newberry, Percy Edward (1869–1949),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. Oct 2006 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35210>, last accessed 7 April 2015); Bierbrier (n. 96) 402–403.

¹⁰¹ *P.Ryl.Dem.* 3.15–36 are all from Gebelên. In the general introduction to these papyri Griffith explains (p. 130): “to those obtained by Lord Crawford are here added a few papyri which had reached England separately: so closely were the two batches connected that some of the fragments of the second series actually fitted lacunae in the former.” However, nothing is added in what follows that helps to distinguish between these two batches. It may be possible that the papyri mentioned by Grenfell were purchased by Griffith and then given to the Rylands Library; this would explain the presence of this letter in the John Rylands Library Archive. However, I have not found any other proof that this is what happened. For the Hellenistic archives from Pathyris/Gebelên see K.Vandorpe and S. Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris' Archives: A Multi-cultural Community in Hellenistic Egypt* (Brussels 2009).

Mr Edmond, Lord Crawford's librarian, has asked me to write to you with reference to the publication of the Greek papyri which you have recently purchased. Dr Grenfell and I had jointly undertaken their publication for Lord Crawford, and we have at different times copied a number of them. But we have been so much occupied with previous engagements that we have not really been able to get very far. The ground has now been cleared to some extent by the conclusion of Lord Amherst's catalogue, the second volume of which has just appeared.¹⁰² But for the next two years most of our spare time will be occupied with similar work for the University of California.¹⁰³

It has occurred to us that you might like to add a little to the collection before commencing its publication. It is still weak in literary, especially theological, texts; it is very deficient in documents of the Ptolemaic period, of which there are not more than two or three; and some strengthening in official documents of all periods would be very desirable. As you may know, a considerable part of Lord Crawfords (sic) collection was purchased for him in Egypt by us; and we should be glad to continue this if you chose. We should probably want to expend from £50 to £100 each winter. The publication might then be begun after a year or two when we should be more free, and by which time the collection ought to have become thoroughly representative.

With regard to terms: we should not of course ask for remuneration until work of editing had actually commenced. Perhaps the most satisfactory method would be to make the amount proportionate to results. The California University for instance is paying £15 (between the two of us) for the sheet of 16 pages quarto; some scale similar to this might be adopted. I would suggest that the catalogue should resemble in general style our publications of papyri for the Egypt Exploration Fund.

¹⁰² In 1900 Grenfell and Hunt published the first volume of the Amherst papyri. As they explain in the preface: "with few exceptions the Greek papyri have been bought for Lord Amherst by us at various places in Egypt during the last three years." The second volume was published one year later, in 1901; *The Amherst Papyri, Being an Account of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, F.S.A. at Didlington Hall, Norfolk*, ed. B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt: vol. 1, *The Ascension of Isaiah and Other Theological Fragments*; vol. 2, *Classical Fragments and Documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine Periods* (London 1900-1901).

¹⁰³ Grenfell and Hunt started collaborating with the University of California in 1899; for a brief outline of the Tebtunis papyri collection see the dedicated webpage of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri (<http://tebtunis.berkeley.edu/collection/history>, last accessed on 12 May 2014).

¹⁰⁴ There is one of the papyri bought last winter which, with your permission, we should like to produce without delay - in the "Archiv für Papyrusforschung", a periodical exclusively devoted to Greek papyri and cognate subjects.¹⁰⁵ The document in question is what is technically known as a libellus - a declaration made by a woman during the Decian persecution of the Christians that she had made the requisite sacrifices to the pagan gods. Only two similar documents have as yet come to light,¹⁰⁶ and this new specimen has therefore a very special interest. I have a copy here, so it could be done with no difficulty. The text would of course be ultimately reprinted in its proper place in the general catalogue.

I am, dear Madam,
yours very truly

Arthur S. Hunt

Mrs Rylands¹⁰⁷

2.2. *Letter of Hunt to Mrs Rylands, 25/11/1901*

Queen's College Oxford
Nov. 25 1901

Madam,

I am returning to Egypt in December and should therefore be grateful if you could let me know whether you would like me to make any purchases of Greek papyri on your behalf as suggested in my previous letter. I must apologize for troubling you again on the subject but we have to make our plans for the season and the time is getting rather short.

Yours very truly

A.S. Hunt

¹⁰⁴ There is a little cross in blue ink here, which is connected with a note in the same ink written in the space above the date and place. This reads: "Cannot give attention more particularly as the MSS are not unpacked." A line below with a pencil: "Will write later on." These notes were written by Mrs Rylands.

¹⁰⁵ The papyrus (*PRyl.* 1.12) was never published in *APF*.

¹⁰⁶ *BGU* 1.287 and *SB* 1.4455.

¹⁰⁷ This is a reminder of the address for the secretary probably in charge of the sending, repeated also in the other two letters.

Mrs Rylands

The letter is written on a folded Queen's College letter paper, which consists of four pages. On the third page, left blank by Hunt, is written in blue ink by Mrs Rylands:

Acknowledge this letter and say I shall be glad if this winter during his travels in Egypt he will purchase any papyri he thinks suitable for my collection, the amount of purchases not to exceed one hundred pounds. Explain that absence from home has caused delay in my answer.

(Keep a copy of your letter and attach to this paper -)

These lines from Mrs Rylands are not copied in the abovementioned register, which however adds the following: "Mr Kiddle replied. Could give no attention to suggestions = manuscripts were not unpacked."

2.3. Letter of J.W. Kiddle, secretary of Mrs Rylands, to Hunt, 28/11/1901

Longford Hall, Stretford,
Manchester Nov. 28 1901
A.S. Hunt Esq.

Sir,

Mrs Rylands wishes me to reply to your letter of Nov. 25th and to say she should be glad if during your travels in Egypt, this winter, you would purchase any papyri you may consider suitable for her collection; but the amount spent must not exceed one hundred pounds.

You will please to note that this arrangement is for one year only.

At the close of your letter to Mrs Rylands, dated Oct. 9 1901, you say - "There is one of the papyri bought last winter, which, with your permission, we should like to produce without delay in the 'Archiv für Papyrusforschung.' The document in question is technically known as a libellus. Only two similar documents have as yet come to light. I have a copy here so it could be done with no difficulty. The text would of course be ultimately reprinted in the proper place in the general catalogue." Will you kindly inform Mrs Rylands if the papyrus to which you refer in the foregoing quotation from your letter belongs to the Crawford collection and if the original is in your possession or only a copy of it.

Mrs Rylands wishes me to say she would have written to you sooner but for the fact that she has been from home.

Faithfully Yours

J.W. Kiddle
Sec<retary>

2.4 Letter of Hunt to Mrs Rylands, 30/11/1901

Queen's College Oxford
Nov. 30 1901

Dear Madam

I was glad to receive your secretary's letter yesterday authorising the expenditure of £100 on papyri this winter in Egypt. It is I think quite probable that we shall not want to spend so large a sum - especially as I hear that there is a German already out there on behalf of the Berlin Museum.¹⁰⁸

The 'libellus' to which I referred in my letter of Oct. 9 was one of the papyri bought for Lord Crawford last year and was sent to him with the rest. There is nothing particular in its appearance by which to identify it, but if I remember the papyrus is rather light-coloured and slightly rubbed in parts; and I should guess that it measures about 8 1/2 by 5 1/2 inches. The handwriting is a small cursive.

Yours very truly

A.S. Hunt

Mrs Rylands

P.S. It may perhaps not be out of place to mention that the papyri should not be mounted in any way until they have been published; they are more difficult to decipher when under glass, and small pieces are very apt to get misplaced or turned over. - They are best stored in a dry place between sheets of paper.

¹⁰⁸ This probably is Otto Rubensohn: see O. Primavesi, "Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Papyruskartell," *ZPE* 114 (1996) 175. On the activities of the Papyruskartell see also A. Martin, "Papyruskartell: The Papyri and the Movement of Antiquities," in Bowman et al. (n. 55) 40-49.

A Michigan Musical Papyrus Revisited¹

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Abstract

Re-edition of the recto of P.Mich. inv. 2958 (michigan.apis.1711), a musical papyrus from Karanis, focused on the musical notation. This papyrus was first published by O.M. Pearl and R.P. Winnington-Ingram and was most recently republished in E. Pöhlman and M.L. West, *Documents of Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 2001) as nos. 42 and 43. This re-edition presents a number of new readings based on autopsy of the papyrus, a commentary, and a new transcription of the *semeia* into modern musical notation. Most significantly, this re-edition proposes a reinterpretation of the extra line of musical notation between lines 4 and 5 as a revision of the melisma over ω in line 5.

P.Mich. inv. 2958

H x W = 30 x 18 cm

mid II CE

Editio princeps: O.M. Pearl and R.P. Winnington-Ingram, "A Michigan Papyrus with Musical Notation," *JEA* 51 (1965) 179-195

Subsequent editions: E. Pöhlmann, *Denkmäler altgriechischer Musik: Sammlung, Übertragung und Erläuterung aller Fragmente und Fälschungen* (Nürnberg 1970) 130-139; R. Kannicht and B. Snell, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 2 (Göttingen 1981) 272-275 (fr. 682a and b) [text only]; E. Pöhlmann and M.L. West, *Documents of Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 2001) 138-147 (nos. 42 and 43), hereafter cited as *DAGM*.

Concordance: Pack² 2442; michigan.apis.1711 (recto) and michigan.apis.1712 (verso); TM 63552

¹ This edition has been adapted from the second chapter of the author's PhD dissertation, "The Practical Muse: Reconstructing the Contexts of a Greek Musical Papyrus." In recollating this papyrus, no special technologies were used, or deemed helpful, other than magnification by means of a microscope and macroscopic photography.

In addition to the comments and suggestions provided by the anonymous readers, the author wishes to thank Ruth Scodel, Richard Janko, Annie Bélis, Laurent Capron, Dirk Obbink, and especially Arthur Verhoogt for their contributions at various states in the preparation of this edition.

Introduction

P.Mich. inv. 2958 preserves the majority of a single column of an otherwise unknown dramatic text with musical notation, which was later re-used for a badly damaged account.² This column, written along the fibers, contains fragments of two tragedies, or two sections of a single tragedy,³ written with musical notation, as well as various rhythmic and performance signs. The most striking and debated feature of this papyrus is an extra line of *semeia* written between lines 4 and 5 of the text (termed line 5a in this edition). This line has traditionally been interpreted as an instrumental interlude written in vocal notation,⁴ providing evidence that vocal notation could be used to transcribe music intended for an instrumentalist, although other instrumental interludes in vocal papyri are written in the instrumental notation system.⁵ However, this re-edition presents new evidence indicating that line 5a instead represents a re-working and expansion of the melisma over $\tilde{\omega}$ in line 5, thus creating the longest extant melisma known from Greek antiquity,⁶ and forcing a re-evaluation of the assumption that the instrumental and vocal notation systems were truly interchangeable. In addition, this interpretation provides substantial evidence for the ongoing revision of musical documents, possibly in response to a specific performance situation. The composer/scribe who made the modifications indicated the point of insertion through the anomalous use of two *stigmai* and a diseme in the notation of the original melisma, and then signaled the return to the original text by subscripting the first syllable of $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon$ beneath the final *semeion* of the addition, which corresponds to the *semeion* written for that syllable in the line below. These modifications reinforce the adaptability of the Greek vocal notation system, which emphasizes its utility for practical, as opposed to theoretical, purposes: i.e., from a musician's perspective, the creation and transmission of musical scores.

² O.M. Pearl appears to be the only editor of this papyrus to have attempted a complete transcription of the account, although he did not publish it with the *editio princeps*.

³ For reasons discussed below, I prefer the latter interpretation. I refer throughout to the two sections as Part I and Part II.

⁴ E.g., DAGM 143.

⁵ E.g., DAGM nos. 3, 11, and 14-16.

⁶ Surpassing the 9-*semeia* melisma in P.Yale CtYBR inv. 4510 (DAGM no. 41) by 11 *semeia*.

Physical Description

The papyrus displays significant damage to both sides, consisting of abrasion, fading, creased folds with numerous associated lacunae, and separation of the fibers along all margins (see Figure 5). The left edge is broken along a relatively straight line removing approximately the first 3-4 centimeters of the column.⁷ The upper half of the papyrus preserves the right edge of the column with an intercolumnar margin of at least 3.5 cm, while the lower half is missing 5-6 centimeters of text and notation. The placement of the document on the back in relation to the surviving column indicates the presence of a following column.⁸ This is supported by a 1.5 cm sheet-join that is preserved at the upper right of the musical text (at least 12.5 cm from the left margin), establishing a reason for the location of two of the vertical breaks. The left margin also appears to have broken along a fold, which would have been placed at approximately the center of the sheet.⁹ Since the distance between these folds decreases moving from left to right, this folding likely occurred after the documentary reuse of the papyrus, which probably also accounts for some of the surface damage to the musical text.¹⁰ A small amount of very badly damaged papyrus extends beyond the sheet-join for 1-4 cm, occupied by the document on the back and accounting for its near-illegibility. Portions of both upper (1.5 cm at maximum) and lower (1.6 cm at maximum) margins are visible, indicating that the entire column height of 27 cm is preserved.¹¹ The interlinear spacing is irregular, ranging between extremes of 0.4 cm and 0.8 cm, with most lines spaced close to 0.7 cm. While these measurements are significantly wider than

⁷ This figure is based on two factors: first, West's supposition that an iambic *metron* is missing at the beginning of line 18 (DAGM 142); second, the broader than normal columns of musical papyri: e.g., W.A. Johnson, "Musical Evenings in the Early Empire," *JHS* 120 (2000) 66-68; and C. Pernigotti, "I papiri e le pratiche della scrittura musicale nella Grecia antica," in *La Musa dimenticata: aspetti dell'esperienza musicale greca in età ellenistica* (Pisa 2009) 303-304.

⁸ There are a few traces of ink on the badly damaged fibers of the extreme upper right edge that could belong to a subsequent column, which provide my estimate of a 3.5 cm intercolumnar margin mentioned above.

⁹ This assumes a normal width between sheet-joins of 23-25 cm.

¹⁰ The most prominent of these folds occurs approximately at the center of the surviving papyrus, 7.5-8 cm from the left edge, resulting in several vertically oriented oval lacunae in the top, and the right margin of the bottom.

¹¹ The column height for P.Mich. inv. 2958 is at the top end of the 14-27.5 cm range given by W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 137-139, a clear sign that, even apart from the lack of any ink traces in the top and bottom margins, the entire column height has been preserved.

a typical literary papyrus, they are comparable to other musical papyri, which have wider interlinear spacing to accommodate the notation. The variation in the interlinear space in this papyrus appears to result from the scribe's lack of concern for a formal *mise en page*, rather than from an initial decision to omit notation from certain lines, as has recently been suggested by C. Pernigotti.¹²

P.Mich. inv. 2958 contains twenty-five lines of text with accompanying musical and rhythmic notation, as well as the extra line of notation discussed above (see Figure 1).¹³ The musical notation was clearly written in the same hand as the text;¹⁴ however, some specific differences in form between the *semeia* and individual letters¹⁵ reveal that the scribe was conversant with the expectations of two different modes of writing (musical and textual). Moreover, the text tends to rise toward the register of the musical notation (e.g. γνῶμην, line 20) indicating that the text and music were written simultaneously. The text was written syllabically with breaks spaced precisely to accommodate even the longest of the melismata (multiple notes assigned to a single syllable).¹⁶ However, this method of writing does not necessarily imply nor eliminate the use of an exemplar or earlier draft.¹⁷ The existence of several emendations and/

¹² Pernigotti (n. 7) 308. I see no appreciable difference in how the *semeia* were written in lines 14-16, which have the narrowest spacing. In musical papyri which do have passages that deliberately omit the notation, the spacing appears even narrower than the 0.4 cm found in lines 14-16 of P.Mich. inv. 2958, as, e.g., in Pap. Ashm. inv. 89B/29-32 Fr. 4, suggesting that the scribe's original intention was to include the notation for these lines, but for whatever reason, allowed the lines to bunch closer together towards the end of the first section. For an image of Pap. Ashm. inv. 89B/29-32 Fr. 4 see M.L. West, "Sophocles with Music? Ptolemaic Music Fragments and Remains of Sophocles (Junior?), Achilles," *ZPE* 126 (1999) Plate XII.

¹³ Prior editors have read three or four *semeia* in an additional line (line 26) at the bottom of the papyrus. These traces are an artifact of the APIS photograph resulting from shadows and darker fibers within the papyrus. For this reason, line 26 has been omitted from the transcription but included in the apparatus. See the commentary below for a more complete discussion.

¹⁴ Evidenced by the common forms of α/A, ι/I, ο/O, c/C, φ/Φ. This was first noted in the *editio princeps* (179) and has been confirmed by all subsequent editors and commentators.

¹⁵ This is particularly noticeable with the different forms of ξ/ζ and the close resemblance of the top of textual ξ to some instances of the *semeion* Z (see, e.g., the first διδαζον in line 9).

¹⁶ For this reason, the irregular spacing of the letters in the text makes it nearly impossible to judge how many letters are missing in a lacuna. It is usually more accurate to assess missing syllables, especially when traces of the musical notation remain.

¹⁷ Although the papyrus itself can give no clear indication, it may also be worth considering the use of an exemplar for the text only, with the scribe functioning also

or corrections to both text and music in the primary hand (in lines 3, 8, 9, and 23) similarly does not provide conclusive proof, not least because all of these instances occur in heavily damaged areas of the papyrus. Instead, syllabic writing greatly enhances the ease of use of the papyrus by musical professionals, since a continuous text may result in ambiguity in assigning *semeia* to specific syllables (as is seen in line 12). Therefore, C. Pernigotti has suggested, and I concur, that this syllable-by-syllable approach to writing musical texts is a typical feature of papyri intended for practical use.¹⁸

The textual hand is closest to Turner's informal round hand,¹⁹ and in general the musical notation was written with greater precision and care than the text. The speed and informality of the ductus is further shown through the variation in form of specific letters and *semeia*,²⁰ the use of certain cursive letter-forms,²¹ and the frequent use of ligatures.²² The hand is approximately bilinear (broken routinely by β, ι, ρ, φ, υ, ψ); however, the lines are uneven as a result of the simultaneous writing of the musical text. Likely for the same reason, the hand shows a tendency to rise from left to right within the wider letters (e.g. δ, λ, μ, ν, ω). Combined with the damage to the papyrus, this results in occasional confusion of the musical and textual registers, especially where there are gaps in the text to accommodate melismata of four or more *semeia*. In the first section, which is probably an iambic dialogue,²³ change of speaker is

as the composer.

¹⁸ Cf. Pernigotti (n. 7) 304-305, citing, in addition to this papyrus, *DAGM* nos. 8, 17-18, 46, and 50.

¹⁹ *GMAW*² 20-21. The somewhat misleading characterization of this hand as "calligraphic" in the APIS record stems from the *editio princeps*. While the hand is practiced and clear, it is also decidedly not a formal bookhand.

²⁰ E.g., α (in both text and music), η, ω, ζ (in the notation).

²¹ E.g., α, η primarily in h form, υ mostly v-shaped, chancery κ, miniscule ξ, and the irregular form of the *semeion* Ϝ, which usually has a rounded bowl with long horizontal strokes on both sides – e.g., the Berlin Paeon (Pap. Berlin 6870+14097 = *DAGM* no. 50) of approximately the same period. The scribe of this papyrus writes the sign as a flattened υ.

²² E.g. τα, τε, τι, ει, and once for τη. Similar practices occur in the musical notation, especially in the scribe's tendency to write the *hyphen* as the finishing stroke of the final *semeion* in a grouping or occasionally to incorporate the *stigma* into a diseme or triseme.

²³ A precise metrical analysis of the text remains elusive, primarily because of the numerous lacunae, but also partly because of some unusual features of the text and notation. It is possible that lyric iambs were used in addition to "spoken" trimeter. The author is currently preparing a fuller discussion of the metrical and rhythmic interpretation of this papyrus which, for reasons of space, will appear as a separate publication.

likely indicated either by a short line (e.g., lines 5, 11, 14, and possibly 18²⁴) or by a slash crossing the registers of both the text and musical notation.²⁵ No other lexical signs are present in the text. The paleographical character of P.Mich. inv. 2958 is thus complicated by the apparently paradoxical contrast between the sophistication of the musical notation and the informality of the ductus and *mise en page*. There is every indication that the individual who wrote this papyrus was capable of writing more formally or elegantly, and his decision not to do so in this text strongly implies that its intended use was as a (personal) performance copy. The associated idiosyncrasies of writing practice, therefore, were designed to facilitate the practical requirements of the scribe himself, or of a small group with whom the scribe was intimately familiar.

The surviving column of P.Mich. inv. 2958 is divided into two parts at line 18, which contains no visible text or notation. Although a band of a lighter-colored fiber extends across the surface in the blank space, the gap between lines 17 and 19 was most probably deliberate.²⁶ I concur with West's suggestion, on the basis of his metrical analysis, that the final iambic *metron* of line 17 extended into the (now lost) beginning of line 18.²⁷ The 2 cm interlinear space between Parts I and II is sufficient to accommodate only a single line of text and notation, which is not sufficient for both the continuation of line 17 and a title for Part II. Consequentially, the only indication of the transition that would have appeared in the *mise en page* would have been the abnormally short line 18, possibly with a *paragraphos* or *koronis* at the beginning of line 19. The change in *tonos* at line 19 from Hyperionian to Hypolydian has typically been interpreted as an indication that this papyrus contained an anthology rather than two sections of the same larger text.²⁸ However, since modula-

²⁴ While this was not the preferred method for indicating speaker change in literary papyri, this technique may reflect the musical requirements of the papyrus. It would be significantly easier for two singers working from the same papyrus to locate their parts through such clear indications in the *mise en page*. A comparable technique can be found in late medieval and early Renaissance musical manuscripts which place the two parts in *cantus binatim* on opposing pages, rather than superimposed on the same page.

²⁵ And, as was pointed out by one anonymous reader, possibly also by the abnormal use of the *dikolon* in the musical notation in lines 7 and 22 (see Commentary on line 7).

²⁶ Since the scribe wrote across similar bands of lighter fiber in lines 10 and 20, all previous editors concur that the gap here is not related to any irregularity in the papyrus.

²⁷ DAGM 183. The blank space probably contained an iambic *metron* carried over from line 17, resulting in an estimation of at least 3-4 cm. (the length of the *metron* ποῖον φοβῆ... in line 17) missing from the left edge of the column.

²⁸ Although the *editio princeps* (184-185) does not argue either for or against a connection between the two sections, contrast the views of S. Hagel, *Ancient Greek Music: A New Technical History* (Cambridge 2010) 303; T. Gammacurta, *Papyrologica scaenica: i*

tion (μεταβολή) between these two *tonoi* is unequivocally possible within the parameters for modulation described by the theorists,²⁹ a direct musical connection between the two sections cannot be dismissed, and is, in fact, further supported by textual evidence discussed below. The tendency to interpret all musical papyri with discrete sections as anthologies, I believe, stems from the prominence of several clearly anthological papyri.³⁰ Nevertheless, I argue that it is imperative to consider each musical papyrus on its own terms. Although, because of the absence of the left margin of the column, there is no way to prove definitively that this papyrus contained a single complete tragedy, I suggest that, instead of a new entry in an anthology for concert performance, Part II represents a sectional division within the same notated text.

The tragic text(s) contained in P.Mich. inv. 2958 are otherwise unknown, and it seems decidedly unlikely that a secure identification of this text as the work of a known tragic poet is, or ever will be, possible. In my opinion, the fact that a Greek composer operating in Egypt during the Roman period chose to set a non-canonical work is extremely significant. It is nevertheless possible to ascertain a fair amount about the nature of the tragedy from what survives. Part I contains a highly dramatic dialogue between two actors. While the specific identity of the two speakers cannot be ascertained, several inferences about them can be drawn from the surviving text. First, based on the masculine vocative ὦ φίλτατε (lines 1, 3, and 5) and the masculine participle φοβηθείς (line 17), at least one, and probably both of the characters are male.³¹ The range of

copioni teatrali nella tradizione papiracea (Alessandria 2006) 199; M.C. Martinelli, "Appendice. Segni di separazione usati in documenti musicali antichi," in M.C. Martinelli et al. (eds.), *La Musa dimenticata* (Pisa 2009) 359; Pernigotti (n. 7) 308; Pöhlmann, *Denkmäler Altgriechischer Musik* (Nürnberg 1970) 136; *DAGM* 142; and M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992) 281 and 376 (on the assumption, while discussing the Euripides' Iphigenia at Aulis papyrus (*DAGM* no. 4) that most, if not all, Hellenistic tragic papyri contained lyrical excerpts for concert performance), who all regard P.Mich. inv. 2958 as an anthology.

²⁹ There is not sufficient space here for a full discussion of this complicated musical technique. However, Hyperionian and Hypolydian not only share a common tetrachord (*mesai* and *diezeugmenai*, respectively, represented by the *semeia* $\text{O } \Xi \text{ I } \text{Z}$ [= b c' d' e']), a requirement for modulation between *tonoi*, but also share several other *semeia*, which taken together indicate that there is a close tonal relationship between the two scales. Discussions of μεταβολή in the secondary literature are numerous, but see, e.g., West (n. 28) 194-196.

³⁰ E.g., the famous Berlin musical papyrus (*DAGM* nos. 17-18 and 50-52), and the Euripides' Iphigenia at Aulis papyrus (*DAGM* no. 4).

³¹ This has been the conclusion of all previous editors; however, if lyric iambs are used, it is possible that one character is female and we are simply missing the relevant

the melody (g-a') suggests a tenor or high-tenor range.³² The use of two different methods to indicate speaker change can be explained, I think, through the use of the diagonal slashes to clarify speaker change that was otherwise indicated by the *mise en page*.³³ These two methods combined indicate seven speaker changes, but it seems probable that other indicators are missing, as, for example, at the end of line 1, or at the beginning of other lines. There are two clues in the text that narrow down the range of possible identification of the plot of this tragedy. Most significant is the secure occurrence of Αἰγίσθου in line 16. In combination with the reference to a homecoming (τίς νόστος in line 7), this tragedy was most probably an adaptation of some part of the Orestes/Electra cycle.³⁴ It is remotely possible that these references indicate a tragedy based on the story of Erigone, the illegitimate daughter of Aigisthus and Clytemnestra; however, this myth seems to have been significantly less popular as material for tragic adaptation.³⁵ The close relationship between the two characters in the dialogue in Part I is suggested by the repeated vocative ὦ φίλτατε (lines 1, 3, and 5), which has induced several hypotheses concerning the specific identities of the speakers: M.L. West has suggested that one of the speakers was Orestes himself and that the other was a retainer welcoming him upon his return from exile,³⁶ while A. Bélis has proposed that the speak-

text which would indicate this clearly.

³²The pitch equivalences traditionally assigned to the *semeia* are too high by as much as a fourth: see the most recent discussion of this problem in Hagel (n. 28) 452-453; cf. DAGM 7 and West (n. 29) 255 and 273-276. The reasoning behind the pitch-values traditionally assigned to the *semeia* is, I believe, based on sound musical principles: namely, the attempt to conserve the relationship between the *tonoi* through the relationship between the modern keys in which they are transcribed. This system takes the Lydian *tonos* in which all the fixed notes of the tetrachords are written with first-level (i.e., unsharped) *semeia*, and transcribes it in C Major, the corresponding natural modern key.

³³In line 3, the slash occurs at the extreme right edge of the column where the line end would have coincided with the normal column margin (probably because of the correction earlier in the line); however, in lines 13 and 17, the slash appears near the left edge of the surviving papyrus, i.e., approximately a quarter to a third of the way into the original column, and the scribe may have used the slash to indicate speaker change so as not to waste an excessive amount of papyrus.

³⁴This is the consensus of previous editors and commentators.

³⁵Sophocles wrote an Erigone; however, this tragedy might have treated another mythological figure of the same name (the daughter of Icarius of Athens, whose suicide was viewed as the origin of a particular cult practice). Given the connection between this Erigone, Athens, and Dionysus, this second plot is perhaps slightly more likely.

³⁶DAGM 142, based on his reading of οἰκετῶν in line 1.

ers were Orestes and the ghost of his father Agamemnon.³⁷ If the conjectured reading of [σ'] ἱκετεύω in line 1 is correct,³⁸ the act of supplication may provide further clues to the identity of the characters, or at least to their relationship. The combination of φίλτατος and ἱκετεύω occurs in tragedy only once: Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* 1414-1415, where the two words are spoken by different characters (Antigone and Polyneices).³⁹ While this parallel does not entirely eliminate West's suggestion, which implies a dialogue between Orestes and a representative from the chorus, I think, in combination with the technical demands of both parts, it does render a conversation between two actor-characters as a more plausible interpretation.

In contrast, Part II contains no indication of a continuation of the dialogue in Part I; however, the damage to the lower third of the column is more substantial. Consequentially, the surviving text and music from Part II are significantly less extensive than in Part I, which impedes analysis of both content and style. It is nevertheless clear that both the *tonos* and meter differ from Part I, and thus Part II could contain either a monologue, perhaps by one of the speakers of Part I, or a choral response to the intense emotion of that recognition/supplication scene. While the meter is not directly identifiable, it does appear to be lyric,⁴⁰ which would fit either of those two hypotheses. However, the moralizing ethos of several of the surviving words (γνώμην, line 20; σαφῶς, line 21; κάκιστον, line 23), the third-person verb ἦλθε (line 24), the lower melodic range (f-e'), and the general simplification of the melody, when taken as a whole, may support the interpretation of this passage as the beginning of a choral passage. Moreover, two of these words (κάκιστον, line 23; ἦλθε, line 24) could respond directly to Αἰγίσθου (line 16) and νόστος (line 7) in Part I, further strengthening the link between the two sections of P.Mich. inv. 2958. I prefer a choral interpretation of Part II primarily on the basis of the shift in range and the less ornate melody, since I would suspect that an aria sung by a major character would be at least as complex as the dialogue in Part I. However, a relatively subdued choral response to the emotional scene in Part I would

³⁷ In conversations with the author, February 23 to March 1, 2008. This supposition may be independently supported by the suggestion of reading the vocative πάππα in line 6 offered by one of the anonymous readers.

³⁸ πρὸς νῦν in line 11 may also suggest supplication; see the textual commentary for line 11.

³⁹ {Av.} Πολύνεικες, ἱκετεύω σε πεισθῆναί τί μοι. / {Πο.} ὦ φίλτατη, τὸ ποῖον, Ἀντιγόνη; λέγε. {An.} Polyneices, I beg you to obey me in one thing. / {Po.} O dearest Antigone, what is it? Speak! For other occurrences of this word pairing in drama, cf. Aristophanes *Ecclesiazusae* 970 and *Comica Adespota* Fr. 257.26-27.

⁴⁰ It is not, in any case, iambic trimeter or trochaic tetrameter.

provide an opportunity for the actors to catch their breath and for the audience to reflect on the preceding action.

Musical Notation

P.Mich. inv. 2958 uses ten different *semeia* from the vocal system: Φ Ξ \mid \underline{Z} A \cup \oplus in Part I, and R Φ \subseteq O Ξ \mid Z in Part II.⁴¹ Figure 2 illustrates these two sets of *semeia* as partial realizations of *systemata* organized according to the unmodulating system,⁴² and provides the traditional Western equivalents for each *semeion*. *Semeia* contained in square brackets are part of their respective *systema*, but are not found on the papyrus, either because of the numerous lacunae or because of the composer's decision to employ only a limited portion of the available scales.⁴³ Figure 3 illustrates the transcription of these two scales into Western notation. For each *tonos*, the scale on the top represents a complete scale based on inclusion of all the pitches in the relevant *systema*, while the scale on the bottom includes only those *semeia* found on the papyrus. The scales are notated in descending order according to Greek practice.⁴⁴

In addition to the *semeia*, the scribe of P.Mich. inv. 2958 employed a variety of rhythmical symbols, including the *stigma*, diseme, triseme, tetraseme, *hyphen*, *dikolon*, and *leimma*. The *stigma*, which theoretically marks the arsis of a metrical foot, appears inconsistently, as is the case in the majority of the musical papyri; however, the extensive damage to this papyrus has indubitably obscured some instances where the *stigma* was intended, further complicating any analysis of its use here.⁴⁵ The diseme (-), triseme (- -), and tetraseme (- - -) are symbols used to increase the length of a musical note to the equivalent of two, three, and four *chronoi* respectively.⁴⁶ The two uses of the tetraseme in lines 8 and 9 represent the only surviving examples of this sign in the musi-

⁴¹ The underlined *semeia* indicate *mese*, the tonal center of their respective scales.

⁴² See, e.g., West (n. 28) 218-223.

⁴³ Similar selectivity can be found in all the surviving musical papyri.

⁴⁴ Descending motion was viewed as euphonic because it was conceptualized as a relaxation of tension. A WAV file of the scales can be found at <http://hdl.handle.net/2027.42/90511>.

⁴⁵ The *stigmai* therefore cannot contribute significantly to any interpretation of the meter. It is, however, possible that instead of marking metrical *arsis* (i.e., $\acute{x} \acute{\sim} \sim -$), in this papyrus the *stigma* was used to mark the first metrical unit in a single iamb (i.e., $\sim -$); for which, cf. Johnson (n. 7) 81-82 (e.g., the first two iambs in line 4). The author has attempted to correlate the use of *stigmai* to the meter; however, as discussed elsewhere in this paper, a complete understanding of the meter of the text also remains elusive.

⁴⁶ Musically speaking, a *chronos* is the duration of a single short (or light) syllable.

Unarticulated Text and Apparatus Criticus

⁴⁷ The tetraseme is attested in the Greek musical theorists, and there is no reason to assume that this particular symbol is a different diacritical mark. The two instances in this papyrus are clearly different from the triseme, both in form and manner of writing (see my further discussion in the commentary below).

7] . $\dot{\xi}$ $\dot{\iota}$ $\dot{\xi}$ [] A A $\dot{\xi}$ ι [] $\bar{\xi}$ Z $\dot{\xi}$ $\dot{\theta}$ $\bar{\upsilon}$ υ
] α . φ γ ε γ ε ν ε θ η c ω τ η ρ ι α τ ι c ν ο c τ ο c

8] $\dot{\Lambda}$ $\bar{\Lambda}$ $\dot{\Lambda}$ $\bar{\Lambda}$ $\dot{\xi}$ $\bar{\theta}$ $\dot{\xi}$ [] [] $\dot{\xi}$ ι $\bar{\Lambda}$ $\dot{\Lambda}$
 8b] η c δ ε υ ρ ο μ ο ι ε κ [] φ α ν ε ι c η c
] . ο . [

9] $\bar{\xi}$ $\bar{\theta}$ $\dot{\theta}$ ι Z ι . $\bar{\xi}$ υ [] $\bar{\xi}$ ι $\bar{\xi}$. . $\bar{\xi}$
] λ η c δ ι δ α ξ ο ν δ ι [] δ α ξ ο ν ω c τ ω ν []

10] $\dot{\Lambda}$ $\bar{\theta}$ $\dot{\theta}$ θ $\bar{\upsilon}$ $\bar{\upsilon}$ $\bar{\xi}$ $\bar{\Lambda}$ $\bar{\Lambda}$ $\bar{\xi}$
] . . . ο υ κ ε c τ α ε λ π τ ο υ τ ε ρ ψ ι c

11] $\bar{\Lambda}$ $\bar{\xi}$ $\bar{\xi}$
] π ρ ο c ν υ ν

12] . $\bar{\xi}$ $\bar{\theta}$ $\bar{\xi}$ $\bar{\Lambda}$ $\bar{\xi}$ ι $\bar{\upsilon}$ [] . [] Z ι .
] α λ λ ο δ α υ μ ε τ ι ε c π ε υ [] δ . [] π ρ ο c η . . c

13] $\bar{\Lambda}$ / Z θ Z θ $\bar{\upsilon}$ $\bar{\Lambda}$ $\dot{\theta}$. [] $\bar{\upsilon}$ θ $\bar{\upsilon}$
] . ι / ο υ κ α ν ε ι δ ε ι η ν τ α δ [ε] π α ρ ο ν τ α

14] ι ι $\bar{\Lambda}$ $\dot{\xi}$
] . β ο c ε μ π ο ι ε ι

15] $\bar{\xi}$ $\bar{\xi}$ ι ι : Z ι Φ
] . c ω ν π ε φ α c μ ε ν ω ν

16] A ι [$\bar{\upsilon}$] A ι θ $\bar{\theta}$ θ $\bar{\xi}$ A $\bar{\upsilon}$. A
] τ ο ν α ι γ ι c θ ο υ λ ε γ ε ι c τ ω γ τ α [] ν α [

17] $\bar{\Lambda}$ θ θ / $\bar{\theta}$ A ι Z A $\bar{\upsilon}$ A $\bar{\theta}$ [.
] . κ ρ α τ η / π ο ι ο ν φ ο β η θ ε ι c δ ε ι μ α [

18]
]

19] ὀ̄ ζ̄ . ζ̄ ζ̄ ο̄ ῑ ζ̄̄ ρ̄ . [] ο̄ ῑ [] . []

20] ϰ̄ ο̄ ϕ̄ . [] ᾱ γνω̄ μην̄ τ̄ . . τ̄ ξ̄ . []

21] ϣ̄ Ϟ̄ ϣ̄ ῑ [] ζ̄ ῑ [] . voc̄ κᾱ φ̄ ϣ̄ ϣ̄ . []

22] ϕ̄ ϣ̄ Ϟ̄ . . . ο̄ ϰ̄ [] ον̄ πᾱ ρο̄ς̄ ῑ [] . ϰ̄ ον̄ . . []

23] ο̄ ζ̄̄ ϰ̄ . ῑ . ῑ ο̄ [[]] . [] . η̄ τον̄ κᾱ κ̄ ῑ ϰ̄ τον̄ . []

24] . ζ̄̄ ὀ̄ ϣ̄ ϕ̄ ζ̄ . [] . cων̄ ηλ̄ θε̄ ποῑ γη̄ []

25] ϕ̄ ϣ̄ . ὀ̄ ζ̄̄ ϕ̄ ϣ̄ ϕ̄ . . [] . ᾱ ταῡ . [] . τᾱ γαρ̄ . . ᾱ []

25a ~

Abbreviations for the apparatus criticus (*Notation* and *Text*):

- I = Pearl and Winnington-Ingram (1965)
 II = Pöhlmann (1970)
 III = Pöhlmann and West (2001)
 IV = Kannicht and Snell (1981)

Notation

- | | | |
|---|--------------|----------------------|
| 1 |] . ὀ̄ . AZA |] AZ ϣ̄̄ I, II & III |
| | ϕ̄̄ | ϕ̄̄ I, II & III |
| | ζ̄̄ ϣ̄̄ | ζ̄̄ . I, II & III |
| | . [. | [I, II & III |
| 2 |] . ϣ̄ pap. | I, II & III omittunt |
| | . | Ᾱ I, II & III |

	𐤆 [	. [ I
	]A[ ].	]A[. I,]A[II,]A[III
3	]𐤆 𐤆 𐤆𐤕	] . [ ]𐤆 I&II,]. [] 𐤆𐤕 III
	𐤆	[[𐤆]] I&II
	[.] Z	[]. Z I,II&III
4	𐤆𐤕	𐤆𐤕 I,II&III
	𐤆	𐤆 I,II&III
	. [	. [ I, : [II, [III
	𐤆 Z	𐤆 . Z III
	𐤆 . . . 𐤆 [	. [ ] . 𐤆 I, 𐤆 [] . 𐤆 II, 𐤆 . 𐤆 III
5a	no. 1 pap. vacat	N I,II&III
	no. 4	no. 5 hoc includit \ / I, II&III omittunt
	no. 12&13	/ \ I
	no. 14	C I,II&III
	no. 15	. I,II&III
	no. 16	Z I&II, C III
	no. 18&19	𐤍𐤕 sub 𐤆 L. Capron recognovit
		𐤆 ? I, 𐤆 𐤆 II, 𐤍 𐤆 III
5	]𐤆. i 𐤀𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆	] . [ ] I, .! A II,]...AÇ 𐤆 Z A III
	𐤆	𐤆 I&II
6	𐤆𐤀	𐤆𐤀 I&II, 𐤆𐤀 III
	]𐤆	𐤆 I,II&III
	]𐤀 . [	]𐤀 . [I&II,]. [III
	]𐤆	𐤆 I&II
7	] . pap.	I,II&III omittunt
	𐤆 i 𐤆 []	𐤆 𐤆 I&II, Z . i 𐤆 III I,II&III attribuunt 𐤆 ad εγ et lacunam omittunt
	𐤆	𐤆 I,II&III
	]𐤆	] . I,II&III
	𐤆	𐤆 I,II&III
	𐤆	𐤆 I,II&III
8	𐤀	𐤀 I,II&II
	𐤆𐤕	𐤆𐤕 I&II, 𐤆𐤕 III
	i 𐤆 [[]]	i 𐤆 . [I,II&III
	i	. i I&II
	𐤀𐤆	𐤀𐤆 I,II&III
	𐤀	𐤀 I,II&III

9	\bar{Z}	\bar{Z} I&II, \bar{Z} III
	ZI. Z	ZIC $\acute{\alpha}$ III
	$\bar{\psi}$	I,II&III omittunt
	\bar{Z}	\bar{Z} I,II&III
	..	.Z I&II Z Z III
	$\bar{Z}\bar{A}$	Z A I,II&III
10	$\bar{\psi}$	$\bar{\psi}$ I&II, $\bar{\psi}$ III
	$\bar{\psi}Z$	$\bar{\psi}Z$ I&II
	A \bar{Z}	A \bar{Z} I&II, A \bar{Z} III
	\bar{A} A \bar{z}	\bar{A} [] A. I, \bar{A} ! A. II, \bar{A} ! A III
11	A Z $\bar{\psi}$.	... I&II, Z. III
	\bar{A}	$\bar{\psi}$ I,II&III
	Z	$\bar{\psi}$ [I, $\bar{\psi}$ [II, . [III
12	Z A $\acute{\alpha}$ $\bar{\psi}$ Z.	.A $\acute{\alpha}$ $\bar{\psi}$ A I&II, .A $\acute{\alpha}$ $\bar{\psi}$ Z III
	\bar{z} I	ZI . I&II, Z ! []. III; I,II&III dant $\bar{\psi}$ ad τ et coniciunt <i>semeion</i> absens ad $\epsilon\pi$
	$\bar{\psi}$ []. []	$\bar{\psi}$.. I&II, $\bar{\psi}$ []. Z III
	.	. $\bar{\psi}$ I, $\bar{\psi}$ II, \bar{z} III
13	$\bar{\psi}$ A	$\bar{\psi}$ A I&II
	$\bar{\psi}$ []	$\bar{\psi}$ $\bar{\psi}$ I, $\bar{\psi}$ $\bar{\psi}$ II, $\bar{\psi}$ III
	$\bar{\psi}$	. I&II
14	]	in pap. lacuna est super . β oc].[] I&III,] $\bar{\psi}$ [] II
	$\bar{A}\bar{Z}$	$\bar{A}\bar{Z}$ I, $\bar{A}\bar{Z}$ II, $\bar{A}\bar{Z}$ III
15	] Z	]. I&II,] \bar{c} III
	\bar{z}	\bar{z} II
16	I [$\bar{\psi}$]	A I I,II&III
	$\bar{\psi}$	$\bar{\psi}$ II
	$\bar{\psi}Z$	$\bar{\psi}$ $\bar{\psi}$ I, $\bar{\psi}$ $\bar{\psi}$ II, $\bar{\psi}$ $\bar{\psi}$ III
	A $\bar{\psi}$.	.. \bar{z} $\bar{\psi}$ I, .. \bar{z} $\bar{\psi}$ II, ... $\bar{\psi}$ III
17	] A.	].[ I,II&III
	$\bar{\psi}$	A I,II&III
	A $\bar{\psi}$ A	. []. A I&II, . [] A III
	].	I,II&III omittunt
18		versus vacuus
19	] $\bar{\psi}$	] $\bar{\psi}$ I&II,] $\bar{\psi}$ III
	\bar{z} . \bar{z}	\bar{z} []. I&II, \bar{z} [] $\bar{\psi}$ [] III

	Ῑζ̄	ζ I, ζ. II, Qζ III
20	.[	ζ[I,II&III
21	Ὶ ῑ	Ὶ. I, ῚQ II, Ὶῑ III
	]ζ[	]ζ[I,II&III
22	Φ̄	Φ̄ I, Φ̄ II&III
	Ϝ̄	Ϝ̄ I&II
	...	..[ ] I, ..[] II, [] . . III
	OC[	OC[I&II
23	]Oζ̄	]Q. I, .Oζ̄ II,].ϑZ III
	C	.ϑ III
	.I	ϑ I, ϑ. II, . III
	.ϑ̄	Q I&II, . III
24	]̄. ζ̄	]Q ῑ I&II,]̄. ῑ III
	φ̄	φ I,II&III
	ζ̄	Ϝ. I, Ϝζ̄. II, Ϝ ζ̄. III, velut si ποι est bisyllabus
	.[	I,II&III omittunt
25	] φ ϙ.	]φϜ I&II,]φ ϙ III
	Ο̄ζ̄.φ	Oφ[]φ I, Oφ[.]φ II, Q̄φ̄. φ III
	Φ̄	φ I,II&III
	..[	Q[I,II&III
26	pap. vacat	]ζ[ζ̄. [I,II&III

Text

1	]φ [c]ικετ[υω	].. φ I&II,]ε[.].. φ III&IV A. Bélis conjecit [].κετω[I, []ικετω[II, [o]ικετω[υ III&IV
2	]τ[]. τ υ[ε]ο[ ]..[ ].	]τ[] τ I&II,]τ[.] τ IV νεο.[...]. I&II, νεο.[...].[III, νεο.[...]. IV
3	φι]λτ[α]τε λεγειν [[....]] []τ[ε]	L. Capron conjecit]ητ[.]η I&II,]γτ[.]τ̄ III,].τ[.]τ̄ IV λεγεσ I [[α τ̄α]] I,II,III&IV [...]. I&II, [...]ογ III, [...].. IV
4	]υ []τ̄α..	]γ I,II&IV,]. III I&II, ..ατα.μ III, .....οιc IV

	κ[.....]	κ[.....] I&II, κ[...].ο III, ι[.....] IV
5	ω]	].....α I,]..... II&IV,]....ω III
6	]..ι	]τωι I,II&III,].οι IV
	ω	ει III
	[]..πα[]α	[]ρθα[....]ς I, ..[]ρθα[....]ς II, []πα[....]ς III, []ρθ[....]ς IV
7	]α . ων	]ων I,II,III&IV
	τος	τ. I&II, το III, τ(..) IV
8	]γης	]γη.. IV
	εκ[]	εκ.[] I&II, ξμ [] III, εκ.[...] IV
8b	]..ο.[pap.	I,II&III omissunt
9	[]	εϋ I,II&III, εϋ. IV
10	].. ..	].. ετ II
11		pap. vacat post προς νυν].[...] προς νυν I&II,].οϋ[.]προς ξυν[]τας[III,].[...] προς νυν[IV
12	υ[]δ.[]π	υδε π I&II, υ[]δε[]τ III, υδε.[..]. IV
	η..ς	ημα.[I,II&IV, ημεγ[III
13	ταδ[ε]πα	ταδ[επ]α I,II&IV, ταδ[]α III
14	].. βοc	III conicit θα]μβoc
16	λεγειc	λ..εις I&II
	των τα[]να[	τω..[]τα[]να I&II, τω[]τα[]να[] III, τω[...].τα[...].να (..) IV
17	]..κρατ	]κκ.ατ I&II,]κκ.ατ III,]κκ... IV
18		versus vacuus
19	]ει	]ει I,II&IV,]ει III
	το. []οι[	το. [...].οι[I&II, το [..].ογ[III, το.[...].οι[IV
	]..[	I,II,III&IV omissunt
20	τ. .τε .[	π...[I&IV, πατ .[II, πατ[III
21	ο.[	το.[I,II,III&IV
22	ι[]..κον ..[	κ[...].κονα[I,II&IV, κ[...].κονα[III
24	]..ων	]ρων I,II,III&IV
25	]..α	]α I,II&IV,].. III
	..α[	ορα[I,II&IV, ..δ[III
25a		I,II,III&IV omissunt
26	pap. vacat	].. ...[ I&II,].. ... [III, []..[]...[IV

Articulated Text and Translation

- 1] ὦ φίλτατε [c'] ἵκετε[ύω] "ο dearest (friend/relative?), I supplicate [you]
2] τ[] . τίς εἴ ποτ' ἦ τίνοσ ν[ε]ο[ς]. [. . .] ... who ever are you or whose
offspring ...
3] ὦ φίλ[α]τε τάδε λέγεις ποτ[. . .]] .] τ[ε] / ο dearest, these things you
say ...
4 ο]υ πέλας πάντη κο[. .] τ[α] . . ος ἵκετ[ε]ύω [near [noun in gen.] on all
sides ... I supplicate ...
5 ὦ] φίλτατε o dearest
6] . ικαν ὦ . πα[. .] α φράσον φρά[σον] [aorist verb] ο [name] ... tell! tell!⁴⁸
7] αων ἐγένεθ' ἡ σωτ[η]ρία· τίς νόστος ... the salvation has come about;
what homecoming
8] γῆς⁴⁹ δευρό μοι ἐκ \ . ο . / [. . .] φανείησ ... here for me from ...
the ... having appeared
9] λη· δίδαξον δι[] .] δαξον ὡς τῶν[. .] ... teach! teach! how of the ...
10] . . . οὐκ ἔστ' ἀέλπτου τέρψις ... it is not a delight of unexpected
11] πρὸς νῦν before now⁵⁰
12] ἄλλο δ' αὖ μ' ἔτι ἔσπευδε[ν] πρὸς η . . ς and another thing in turn still
was hastening me towards ...
13] εἰ / οὐκ ἂν εἰδείην τάδ[ε]· παρόντα ... / I wish I had not known these
things; ... being present
14 θά]μβος ἐμποεῖ astonishment causes ...
15] . cῶν πεφασμένων ... of your⁵¹ things that have been revealed
16] τὸν Αἰγίσθου λέγεις· τῶν τα[. .] να[you say this of Aegisthus; of these ...
17] . κράτη / ποῖον φοβηθεῖς δεῖμα [strength / having been seized with
fear by what sort of terror
18]
19] εἰωτι τί[ν] ἐπι το .[.] οἱ [. . .] .[...
20] α γνώμην τ . . τ[ε] .[... judgement⁵² ...
21] . voc σαφῶς ο .[... clearly ...
22] ον πάρος ἱ[] . κον . .[... formerly ...
23] . ἡ⁵³ τὸν κάκιστον [or the worst (man)
24] . cων ἦλθε ποῖ γῆ[ς] ... came to what piece of land
25] . α ταῦ[τα], τὰ γὰρ . . α[... these, for this ..."

⁴⁸ Or "show! show!"⁴⁹ γῆς or a genitive of another feminine noun ending in -γη.⁵⁰ This line is problematic: see discussion in Commentary.⁵¹ Or the genitive plural of a different noun or adjective.⁵² Or "thought" or "opinion."⁵³ Or ἡ, "who ... the worst man."

Commentary on the Semeia

1] . ṽ . : traces of the first three or four *semeia* of the six- or seven-note melisma on ṽ. The second is most likely u as read, but it could be parts of two notes, of which the first would probably be A.

- Ϝ̇: The dot is for the *stigma*, which is lost in a lacuna; it can safely be restored from lines 3 and 5.
- [Ζ]: This *semeion* can be safely restored from lines 3 and 5.
- Ϟ̇: The *stigma* is definite, and supports the reading of *leimma* since this composer/scribe always writes *leimma* with a *stigma*.⁵⁴ A *stigma* would be unwarranted over any other symbol following Ϛ̄ and assigned to the same syllable since there is no *stigma* over the Ϛ̄. The placement of this symbol close to Ϛ̄ supports this reading, since *semeia* follow, never precede, the associated syllable, and there is no trace of a letter in the text below the Ϟ̇. Finally, when this word and musical phrase recurs in line 3, Ϛ̄ is clearly followed by a *leimma*. It is impossible to determine if a *leimma* occurred in the parallel location in line 5 because of a lacuna; however, it is probable there as well.
- ζ̣: or Ζ; badly damaged by a tear in the papyrus along the sheet-join.
- [. : if ικετεύω is repeated in line 4, then Ϛ̄ is possible for this *semeion* as well.

2 \ominus : not a secure reading.

- . / τικ : This *semeion* could be Ḃ or Ḃ̄, possibly with l or z before it, although either of those notes would involve a large (but not impossible) jump down from the preceding ϑ, if that is indeed the correct reading of that *semeion*.
- Ḃ̄: or z; Z is musically preferable, both because it places the triseme on mese, and because the sequence ϑZZ plays on the musical motif of φίλτατε.
- []Al []: The first lacuna contained the notation for οϙ, and the second probably contained one *semeion*.

3 Ⲛ̅: There is no visible reason why this *semeion* was not deleted along with the text beneath it; the scribe/composer may have preserved this note because the error was only in the text and this *semeion* was intended for the

⁵⁴See Johnson (n. 7) 81 for a discussion of the conventional practice of writing *leimma* with a *stigma*.

correction, now lost in the following lacuna. Alternatively, the scribe may have felt no need to delete notation for already deleted text.

4 []: There is space for one or two *semeia* in the lacuna (notation for one syllable).

- ζ: or Z
- .ζ̄[: The trace before ζ̄ could be part of a *hyphen*, a *semeion* with a long “tail” (e.g., A or Z), or part of a letter from the text below.

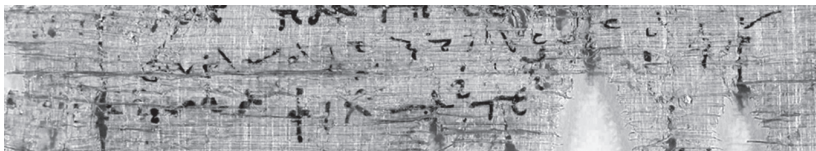


Figure 1: P.Mich. inv. 2958, lines 5a-5

5a Line 5a is an additional line of musical notation added, apparently at a later time, between lines 4 and 5 of the text, and the *semeia* in this line display considerable variation and distortion due to the apparent haste of the writer. The *semeia* in this line are numbered to aid in comparison of the various editions.

- no. 2 ϙ: could be ζ Z or Ι Z, but the high note (ϙ) makes musical sense in a cadenza-type context.
- no. 4: The ink traces read by previous editors as the fourth *semeion* in line 5a are actually part of the preceding and following *semeia*.
- no. 12 ι: The form of this *semeion* most resembles ι (part of the Hyperionian scale, but at the bottom of the range and highly improbable in this context). The unusual form probably results from the composer’s fast handwriting and failure to completely lift the stylus between *semeia*.
- no. 13 Α: or Ϝ, but the form is closer to A with a ligature to the next *semeion*.
- nos. 18 & 19: Prior editors have read the subscript letters φιλ as *semeia* (see Apparatus), and consequently interpreted the *semeion* Ϝ as a diseme.

5]ζ .: The second note is probably not Ϝ as in the melisma in line 1 because of the uneven melodic contour that it would create. Z is more likely because it would replicate a melodic pattern from the original melisma, involving motion up by a third, down a step, up a third, etc.

– $\dot{\iota} \bar{\alpha} \bar{\zeta}$: Since this papyrus does not use rhythmic markings in the melismata elsewhere, and since line 5a, the melodic revision of this phrase, begins directly over these notes, it is reasonable to assume that instead of the typical functions of *stigma* and *diseme*, these symbols indicate where to transition to the alternate version. The function of the two *stigmai*, therefore, would closely resemble the use of dots above a letter to indicate a deletion or variation in literary papyri.⁵⁵

– \square : There was most likely a *leimma* in this lacuna, since this symbol follows both other instances of $\phi\iota\lambda\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$, as noted above.

6 $\bar{\alpha} \bar{\iota}$: The *hyphen* is an extension of the vertical stroke of ι .

– $\square \bar{\zeta}$: There is space in the lacuna for one narrow *semeion* (ι or less likely $\bar{\zeta}$) to complete the melisma. The bottom of this $\bar{\zeta}$ curves up (cf. $\bar{\zeta}/\mu\iota\omicron\iota$ in line 8).

– $\bar{\alpha} \cdot \square$: The first dot is for the *semeion*, not the triseme. The second *semeion* was most likely a *leimma* because of its distance from the α , the presence of a triseme on α , the *stigma*, and the possibility that this is the notation for the final syllable of a vocative, which is treated with a triseme and *leimma* combination in lines 1 and 3. \omicron is also possible, although not otherwise attested in Part I.

– $\dot{\alpha}$: Although this *semeion* is difficult to read because of the tear along the sheet-join, but it can be safely restored because of the repetition.

7 $\bar{\zeta} \dot{\iota} \bar{\zeta}$: The first *semeion* could be $\bar{\zeta}$.

– \square : There is space only for a narrow *semeion* like $\bar{\zeta}$ or ι . ι is probably preferable both musically and paleographically.

– $\bar{\zeta}$: The *dikola* here and in line 22 ($\bar{\phi}$) are different in both position and function from the expected use of the *dikolon* in musical papyri (see below on line 15). While its anomalous use here could indicate the large upward jump to the following pitch, the interval in line 22 is only a whole step. Alternatively, this use of the *dikolon* may parallel its function in tragic and comic papyri, where it marks speaker change within a line. Since this interpretation would result in a third indicator of speaker change in this papyrus, I am skeptical of such a function in these instances (why not use the slash found in lines 3, 13, and 17?), and instead prefer to view the *dikolon* here as an extension of its separative function into the realm of performance practice as something like a

⁵⁵ The author is grateful to one of the anonymous readers for suggesting this comparison.

breath-mark or phrase mark, the musical equivalent of punctuation. While the textual context in line 22 is unclear, there must certainly have been some punctuation in the text to separate the two nominatives (ῆς ὠτηρία and τίς νότος).

8] A : could be Al with or without *hyphen*. Since this is set to a long syllable (γηc), a second note or diseme should probably be expected here.

– $\overline{\zeta}\dot{\sigma}$: The dot is for the tetraseme, which could be a poorly written triseme, except that this scribe writes the triseme elsewhere with a single stroke (a downward vertical stroke that curves to horizontal from right to left) and this symbol was clearly made in two strokes (a vertical stroke that crosses the horizontal stroke just to the left of its right termination).

– $A\dot{\sigma}$: The dot is for the *stigma*. There is no *hyphen* joining these notes; the top of the sigma below touches the bottoms of the *semeia*, approximating the appearance of a *hyphen*.

9 $\overline{\zeta}\dot{\sigma}$: The dot is for the *semeion*, which could also be ζ .

– $Z\dot{\sigma}$: The third and fourth *semeia* of this group are very badly damaged. The third *semeion* might be Θ , A, or O: musically A makes the most sense. The remaining traces and spacing are not consistent with how Θ is usually written, and O is otherwise not attested in Part I, even though it is part of the Hyperionian *tonos*. The final *semeion* is probably Z, although written abnormally.

– $\overline{\sigma}$: could be read with a triseme.

– $\overline{\zeta}\dot{\sigma}$: The *hyphen* read by previous editors is part of the ζ , which this scribe frequently writes with a tail extending to the right. The lower portion of the *semeion* is obscured by the top of sigma in the text.

– \cdot : Traces of one or two *semeia*.

10 $\overline{A}\dot{\sigma}$: An example of a revision of the musical notation: the composer first wrote $\overline{A}\dot{\sigma}$ and then added the $\dot{\sigma}$ and extended the *hyphen* with the same stroke, avoiding a cadence on mese.

– $\overline{A}\dot{\sigma}$: The dot is for the diacritic, which could also be a triseme. The *stigma* is probable but not clear.

– A ζ : or Al. as outlines a descending tritone, perhaps as unusual an interval for the ancient Greeks as it is in Western music.⁵⁶ It is also possible that the trace of a second *semeion* is actually an extension of A or part of a let-

⁵⁶ The interval may also appear in the instrumental signs in the Euripides' *Orestes* papyrus (DAGM no. 3 = P.Vindob. G 2315).

ter in the text. The same interval occurs securely with φράσον (line 6), where it may have a specific musical effect, not unlike a dissonance in traditional Western harmony.

11]Α. ΖϜ.: These are tentative readings of the traces of a three- or four-*semeion* melisma at the beginning of the line. The final *semeion* might be a *leimma*, especially since *leimmata* appear in this approximate location in the surrounding lines (9, 10, and 12). See discussion in the textual commentary above.

– Ḍ: This *semeion* is formed abnormally, and actually looks more like the typical form of Ϝ.

12 ΖΑϞϜ: Because the scribe wrote the beginning of this line without the usual spaces between the syllables, the distribution of *semeia* over the syllables -λο and δ'αῦ is unusually difficult. The division should occur after the *leimma* (i.e. ΖΑϞ/-λο, ϜΑ/δ'αῦ); however, this symbol is written directly over the alpha in δ'αῦ. It appears that this line was written with some haste, and the scribe neglected to leave sufficient space for the notation. Previous editors have articulated the group as follows: I .Α/-λο, ϞϜΑ/δ'αῦ; II . ΑϞ/-λο, ϜΑ/δ'αῦ; III . ./-λο, ΑϞϜΖ. /δ'αῦ. In this papyrus, *leimma* usually marks a line-end; however, since a trimeter cannot begin with δ'αῦ, a different interpretation is required, most likely a pause between the two words.⁵⁷ The second Ζ in the group could also be Ι.

– . / δ: The *semeion* is illegible, but there could be a trace of a diseme.

– . / ϙ: traces of one or perhaps two *semeia*, possibly even a *hyphen*.

13 Ζ ⊕ Ζ ⊕: The composer is playing with the *systema* of the Hyperionian *tonos* which has the conjunct tetrachord synemmenai above *mese* [Ζ Ε Ϝ ⊕], as a tonal contrast to the disjunct tetrachord [Α Ϝ ⊕ Ο'] that is used elsewhere. Although he uses the outline of the conjunct tetrachord, he descends through the disjunct tetrachord a few notes later (⊕ϜΑ), rather than confirming a modulation (*metabole*) with the *semeion* Ε.

– ϜΑ ⊕.: There might be a trace of either a narrow *semeion* or a *dikolon* between Α and ⊕. The final *semeion* could be Ϝ, although the papyrus is damaged too badly to be certain.

14 Ḍ̇: There is a strange diacritic mark (/) after the Ζ, which could be a *stigma* written as a slash because the scribe did not fully lift the stylus. The

⁵⁷ On the double function of *leimma* even within the same papyrus, cf. Johnson (n. 7) 81.

scribe does sometimes write a separate *stigma* for each *semeion* (e.g., $\overline{\zeta}$ line 9). Alternatively, this symbol may represent an attempt to emend the diseme to a triseme ($\overline{\text{AZ}}$).

15 :Zl: It is improbable that this *dikolon* has the same function as those used in lines 7 and 22 (see discussion at line 7 above), since it is placed before the *semeia* and written on the level of the notation (not superscript as in lines 7 and 22). The typical function of the *dikolon* in musical papyri is similar to the *hyphen* (to group several *semeia* sung to the same syllable, as in, e.g., DAGM 41), which W.A. Johnson has suggested was used to clarify the rhythmic notation through limiting the total duration of the *semeia* to the length of the associated syllable.⁵⁸ Alternatively, A. Bélis has suggested that the *dikolon* possesses the function of an appoggiatura in the Berlin paeon.⁵⁹ Since the use of the *dikolon* here closely resembles the instance discussed by A. Bélis, I have chosen to transcribe the first *semeion* as an appoggiatura, although other rhythmic interpretations are possible.

16 l [Ϝ] A l : The first two notes fall in two small lacunae: the spacing of the first lacuna makes l a strong reading; traces on the bottom edge of the second lacuna are consistent with Ϝ. The readings for the first two *semeia* proposed by all three previous editions (A l) violated the accentuation of Αἰγίθου, the only place in the papyrus where an accented note was set to a lower pitch. Winnington-Ingram suggested articulating the text as Αἰγίθ' οὐ (or οὐ) to avoid the conflict;⁶⁰ however, as West observes,⁶¹ the notion of a vocative addressed to Aegisthus does not fit the apparent dramatic context. The readings suggested here would alleviate this difficulty.

– Ϝ. : The second *semeion* was destroyed by abrasion. There is space for a narrow *semeion* (l, ζ) or even a small A.

17 A. / βη : or Ϝ.

19 $\overline{\zeta}$: The *stigma* read by other editors over this *semeion* is part of the diseme. The scribe always writes the *stigma* over the diseme, not on a line with it.

⁵⁸ Johnson (n. 7) 80. He specifically refers to the use of the *dikolon* in association with metrically short syllables, as is the case in line 15; however, in line 10, two *semeia* set to a short syllable are joined with the *hyphen*, a usage that does not occur in the Yale papyrus. For reasons of brevity, further discussion lies beyond the scope of this paper.

⁵⁹ A. Bélis, "Le péan de Berlin: une relecture," *REG* 116 (2003) 552.

⁶⁰ *Editio princeps* 187, n. 2.

⁶¹ DAGM 143, which also discusses the breach of Porson's Law which this reading would entail.

- !ζ̄ : The *hyphen* might be part of the missing letter beneath the *semeia*.
- 21 Ċ : The dot is for the *stigma*; the *semeion* is certain.
- 22 . . . : Traces of two or three *semeia*, probably with diacritics.
- 23].O : The first *semeion* might be C, or possibly a diseme over a different *semeion*.
- 24 ζ̄ or Z.
- 25 Ö̇ζ̄ .Φ : Damage to the papyrus makes elucidation of this group of *semeia* more difficult, especially since the edges of the lacuna do not appear to line up correctly. There is about a half-centimeter difference between the base of ζ̄ and the base of Φ. The O might be a correction, probably from ζ̄ or Z. The dotted *semeion* is completely lost in a lacuna and its presence can only be inferred from the hyphen. There is no trace of an extension of the hyphen below Ö̇ζ̄, perhaps indicating that this group of *semeia* provides notation for two separate syllables: Ö̇ζ̄ / ταν and .Φ / [τα].
- Q̇ : There could be a *stigma* or diseme over O.
- 26 See note in commentary on the text.

Commentary on Text

1 The traces of letters read by other editors at the beginning of the line are likely part of the musical notation. It is possible that this line began with ὦ, especially if it started a new section of the papyrus and was indented. Otherwise, there must have been some text carried over from the previous column.

–]ω̇: Only a few small traces of ink remain, but this is the only probable letter before the vocative φίλτατε.

– [c]ικετ[ε]υω: The traces remaining on the edge of the papyrus support A. Bélis' conjecture over M.L. West's οἰκετῶ[ν].

2 τ̄: most likely not θ.

– [].[]: The first lacuna has space for one or two letters after the space for the notation for ος, and the second has space for about two letters, with space between for a single *semeion*.

–]. : probably the end of the line.

3 φι|τ[α]τε: L. Capron's conjecture is almost certain, since the spacing of the letters matches φίλτατε in lines 1 and 5 almost exactly. The λ is written

with the base at an upwards angle (e.g., the λ in φιλτατε in line 1 and λαc in line 4) and the α is supported by the traces of α on the edges of the lacuna which conform to the τα ligature (e.g., ταδε in line 3 and εcτα- in line 10).

– [[....]] [] : A. Bélis has plausibly suggested that the author wrote ταδε a second time and then deleted the repetition. There may be letters missing between the deletion and the lacuna, which has space for one broad letter or two narrow letters.

4]υ: A genitive is expected before πέλαc.

– πελαc: Since this word is often found at the end of a metrical line (e.g., Aeschylus, *Supplices* 257; Sophocles, *Ajax* 774; Euripides, *Alcestis* 24), it supports the conjecture that *leimma* marks the end of metrical lines in this papyrus.

– []: There is probably space for one syllable (two to three letters) in the lacuna.

– τᾱ . . : The first two letters are probably τα because the traces match other occurrences of that ligature. The two dotted letters could also be a single broad letter like μ.

– ικ [: A. Bélis hypothesizes a repetition of ἰκετεύω (line 1), which fits the space available and conforms to the observable traces of both text and music. There is no way to confirm this reading due to the significant damage to this part of the papyrus; however, given the tendency of this text to repeat significant words, it is a very attractive suggestion.

5 The extended melisma on ὦ has caused confusion between the musical *semeia* and letters of the text. The letters proposed by other editors are either suppositions based on the number of *semeia* (since melismata of this length are extremely unusual) or interpretations of some of the *semeia* as letters.

6].. ιcαν: If the first two letters are τω, as read by other editors, this creates a problem with the following ι, since ι is not written adscript elsewhere in this papyrus. Moreover, the letter previously read as ω does not really match the other instances of this letter in this hand: the closest in form is ὦc (line 9). The c could also be κ. L. Capron conjectures αἶσαν, although the first letter resembles α even less than ω. The aorist of a verb in -ίζω is more probable. Regardless, this must be a heavy syllable because the notation securely has a three-*semeion* melisma with diseme.

– ω: Although only the left half of the letter is visible, the melisma requires a long vowel, and the form of what remains perfectly matches other

instance of ω in this papyrus. The notation pattern, a melisma of six or more *semeia*, which plays off the phrase sung to $\tilde{\omega}$ in line 1, supports reading this as $\tilde{\omega}$ before a vocative. M.L. West's reading of this letter as the diphthong $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ does not fit the traces on close examination, and excludes his conjecture of the phrase $\text{]}\tau\omega\text{ι σ' ἀνε\tilde{\iota}\pi\alpha$ for the first half of line 6.

– $\text{[]}\pi\alpha\text{[]}\alpha$: Probably the vocative of a nominative ending in $-\eta\varsigma$. There is no space in the first lacuna for a letter beneath the end of the melisma on $\tilde{\omega}$. The π looks like a correction or insertion, and the ink is darker than the surrounding text. There is space in the second lacuna for one syllable followed by its notation, and a second syllable ending with α . One of the anonymous readers has suggested reading $\pi\acute{\alpha}\text{[}\pi\pi\text{]}\alpha$; however, this would fill the lacuna only with the assumption of *semeia* assigned to the first syllable in addition to the two ($\tilde{\iota}$) which can be read.

– $\phi\rho\alpha$: The second syllable ($-\text{cov}$) of this repeated imperative, along with its *semeion* ($\tilde{\chi}$), probably started line 7.

8 τ or γ , but τ is more likely.

– [] : There is probably space in the lacuna for two syllables (four to six letters), but the correction beneath the line (8b) and in the musical notation makes it difficult to judge just what is missing here.

8b $\text{[]}\alpha\text{[]}\alpha$: Traces of three letters written below the line. These probably form a correction to the text of line 8, written abnormally below the line in order to avoid confusion with the musical notation. The second letter could also be ϵ or c .

9 [] : There is space in the lacuna for one syllable (two to three letters), which is probably heavy because of the notation ($\tilde{\chi}\tilde{\alpha}$).

10 [] . could be c .

11 Confusion between the registers of music and text at the beginning of this line has resulted in several *semeia* being read as letters by previous editors.

– $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma \nu\upsilon\nu$: In fifth century tragedy, this phrase always begins a line (Sophocles, *Electra* 428 and 889, *Philoctetes* 468, and *Oedipus Coloneus* 49; Euripides, *Helen* 1237) and introduces a supplication formula. The positions of *leimmata* in the surrounding lines (9, 10, and 12) indicate that the beginning of a metrical line might be expected before $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma \nu\upsilon\nu$, and the apparent three- or four-*semeion* melisma for the preceding (missing) text might support this reading, especially if the final *semeion* could be read as a *leimma*. However, even under microscopic examination, there is no trace of either the expected

text or notation on the papyrus after $\nu\nu\nu$. Although there is some damage to the papyrus, it does not seem extensive enough to account for the complete lack of ink traces, especially since significant portions of lines 10 and 12 are still visible. The letters and notation posited by previous editors are likely artifacts of the APIS photograph, as with line 26 (see below). It is possible that the break after $\nu\nu\nu$ indicates speaker change, as with the other shorter lines (e.g., lines 5, 14, and 15). Although the phrase is not followed by speaker change in the parallels cited above, the melodramatic character of this text invites the interpretation that one speaker has interrupted the other in the process of supplication.

12 []: There is probably no letter missing in this lacuna.

– δ .: the second letter could be \omicron , ϵ , η , ω , or similar.

– []: There is space for one or two letters in the lacuna.

– $\dots\varsigma$: There are traces of two letters before ς ; the first is broad (e.g., μ , ν) and probably a consonant, and the second could be α . This reading might account for the fact that ς is written almost in the register of the notation, since this scribe has the tendency to write α rising sharply up toward the register of the notation. If there are the traces of two *semeia* here (see below), this syllable should be heavy.

13] ι : The ι is definitely in ligature, probably either with ϵ or τ : $\epsilon\iota$ seems more probable because of the diseme on the associated *semeion*, since the following syllable starts with a vowel.

14 This line is clearly a short line, which might indicate speaker change or some other textual division. There is no trace of either text or notation after $\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\zeta}$ / $\epsilon\iota$, which additionally represents a strong musical cadence on mese.

– $\epsilon\mu\pi\omicron\epsilon\iota$ for $\epsilon\mu\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota$: while the loss of ι in forms of $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\omega$ is more common before η , it is not unparalleled before the diphthong $\epsilon\iota$ (cf. $\epsilon\mu\pi\omicron\epsilon\iota\nu$ in Men. *Dysc.* 186).⁶² By the mid II C.E., the sound change would be unremarkable in documentary papyri. Its appearance here may only suggest that the scribe of the papyrus was more interested in pronunciation than in formal orthography, as is borne out by the informality of the handwriting and occasional idiosyncrasy of the musical notation.

16 $\tau\alpha$ []: There is space for two or three letters, probably one heavy syllable because of the two *semeia* linked by a *hyphen* ($\tau\zeta$.).

– $\nu\alpha$ []: probably only missing one more syllable with notation.

⁶² Gignac, *Gram.* 1.199–200. Cf. Mayser, *Gram.* 1.1.87–88.

17] .κ : The placement of the *semeion* (A) slightly after κ indicates that the missing letter was probably a vowel. The beginning of this line has apparently suffered water damage, as the ink is blurred and smudged up to the slash.

– μ α [: probably missing the notation for this syllable and one more syllable with notation.

18 This line is bare of text or notation (see discussion above).

19 τ ο . [] : There is space for no more than one letter in the lacuna, because there is no trace of notation above the lacuna.

– [] : There is space for at least two syllables with accompanying notation in this lacuna.

–] . [: A small trace of either a letter in the text or a *semeion*.

20 τ . : The second letter is probably ε or α; ι is not likely.

– . : There is space for one or two letters between the notation.

22 ι [] : The ι could be part of κ (or another letter with an initial vertical stroke); however, under microscopic examination, there are no traces of a second stroke on the edge of the lacuna. There is space in the lacuna for two syllables (three to five letters).

25] . α : probably τ α or c α.

– τ α υ . [] . τ α : There are faint traces of ink on either side of the lacuna consistent with two letters, perhaps τ α υ [τ α] τ α, although this is not particularly poetic. The traces of the first letter are consistent with τ and the second, although even more badly damaged, could be α. Alternatively, the syllable τ α υ - supported a four-*semeion* melisma. See discussion in the commentary on the *semeia* below.

25a ~ : This symbol could be part of a letter written as a correction (as in line 8b), or it could be the decorative bottom of a letter like φ or ψ. Alternatively, it could represent an extra-textual symbol, such as a line count for the page, although unusually placed slightly to the right of the center of the column.

26 Although previous editors have read several *semeia* and posited the existence of accompanying text, this line does not exist on the papyrus, as should be clear from the image of the papyrus. These editors have interpreted the shadows and darker-colored fibers within the papyrus which appear in the published photographs as badly faded *semeia*. In fact, even without this additional line, the column height is already at the high end of the range for literary papyri in Roman Egypt.

Transcription into Western Notation

In the transcription into modern Western notation (see Figure 4), I have attempted to preserve the intricacies of the papyrus as far as is possible, within the limits of the musical compositional software Finale. Despite not being designed to transcribe ancient or non-Western music, the program is sufficiently adaptable that one can create a reasonable facsimile. Necessarily, transcription into modern notation requires making a fair number of seemingly arbitrary choices and I will attempt to explain my decision-making process as clearly as possible. The first major decision involved in transcribing ancient Greek *semeia* into Western notation involves setting the pitch equivalencies between the two notation systems. Although it is generally recognized that the traditional pitch-values assigned to the *semeia* are too high, I have chosen to preserve them here since these are the pitch-values used in *DAGM*, which allows for easier comparison of this papyrus to the other surviving musical fragments. The second major decision in transcribing ancient Greek notation involves setting the rhythmic equivalents. It has become standard practice to transcribe a *chronos* as an eighth-note. However, in my transcription of P.Mich. inv. 2958, I have chosen to represent the *chronos* with a quarter-note since the relevant ancient musical theorists indicate that tragedies should have a slower and more solemn tempo, and I find that using eighth-notes as the basic time unit conveys a sense of quicker movement than is warranted.⁶³ Thirdly, ancient Greek music does not create rhythmic groupings by means of regular measures in the modern sense, but is constructed more fluidly from a combination of the natural quantities of the syllables and the composer's rhythmic preferences, usually the elongation of a syllable by one or two *chronoi*. The result of this is that an iambic *metron* (x - ~ -), theoretically the basic rhythmic unit of Part I, has a widely-varying musical duration.⁶⁴ Therefore, instead of using bar-lines to indicate regular rhythmic groupings, as in most Western music, I have employed a variety of types of bar-lines to convey paleographical information. For the melismata, I have preferred to omit the stems entirely, in order to transcribe the absence of rhythmic symbols on the papyrus. The final difficulty arises from the fragmentary nature of this papyrus: namely the need to indicate dotted or missing *semeia*. Finale requires that every note must have definite pitch, which creates more of a problem in the audio realization of the transcription than it does in the visual formatting, and this necessitated at times making somewhat arbitrary decisions about assigning pitch-values to non-existent or dubious

⁶³ A further technical reason for preferring a quarter-note duration for the *chronos* lies in the complications created by beaming eighth-notes in modern notation.

⁶⁴ E.g., six *chronoi* for σωτηρία in line 7 and ten for -γῆς δεῦρό μοι in line 8.

semeia.⁶⁵ In terms of the text, I have not attempted to preserve the nuances of papyrological convention or an articulated text, primarily due to the font limitations of the software. The following list presents the conventions that I have used in transcribing P.Mich. inv. 2958 into Western notation.

Text

- [] square brackets indicate lacunae
- ... ellipses indicate missing or illegible text

Note-heads and stems

- x an x-shaped note-head indicates a quarter-note of uncertain pitch
- a square note-head indicates a half-note of uncertain pitch
- a missing note-head (i.e. a blank stem) indicates a missing note
- note-heads with missing stems indicate arhythmic melismata

Bar-lines

- | a tic on the uppermost line of the staff follows a *leimma*
- | a narrow solid bar-line indicates the edge of the column
- | a dashed bar-line indicates a lacuna
- ▮ a thick solid bar-line transcribes the diagonal slash

⁶⁵ Two interpretations of this transcription are available at <http://hdl.handle.net/2027.42/90511>: (1) *musical_transcription.wav*, a realization employing a synthesized vocal “ooh” sound; (2) *transcription_with_oboe.wav*, a combination of that WAV file with an oboe sound, to loosely imitate the effect of a unison aulos accompaniment.

Figure 2: Diagram of the Scale Systems of P.Mich. inv. 2948

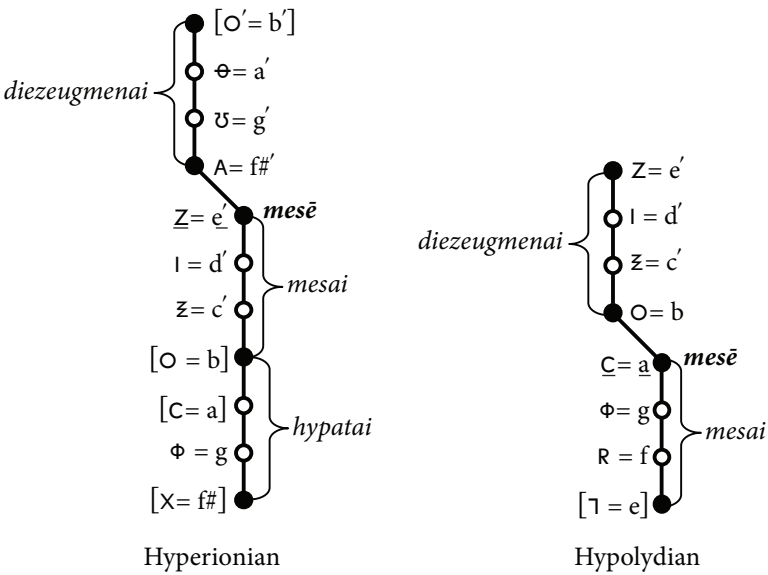
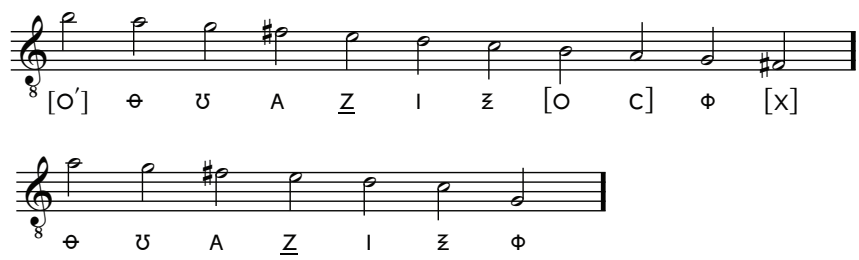


Figure 3: Scales of P.Mich. inv. 2948 in Western Notation

Hyperionian

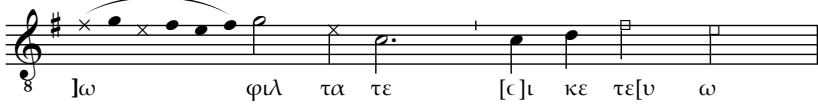


Hypolydian



Figure 4: Transcription of P.Mich inv. 2948 in Western Notation

Line 1



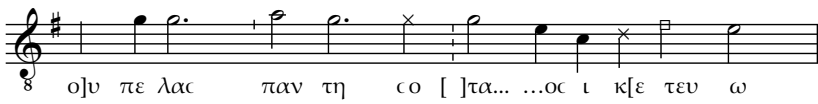
Line 2



Line 3



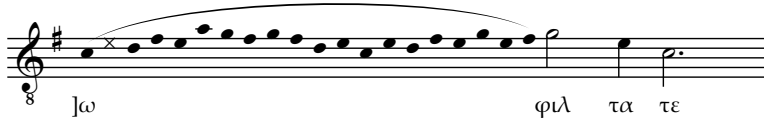
Line 4



Line 5



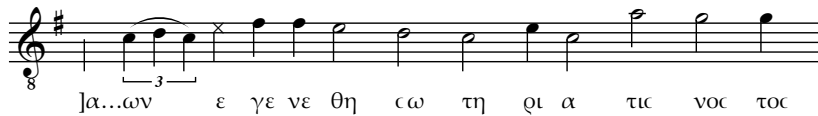
Line 5 with 5a melisma



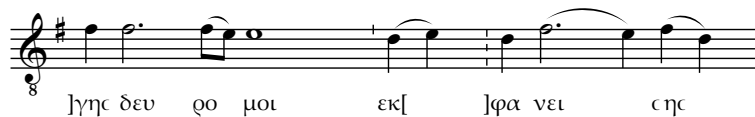
Line 6



Line 7



Line 8



Line 9



Line 10



Line 11



Line 12



Line 13



Line 14



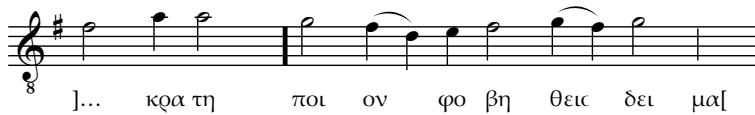
Line 15



Line 16



Line 17

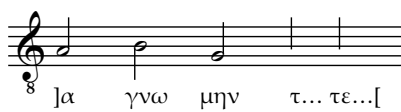


Line 18: blank

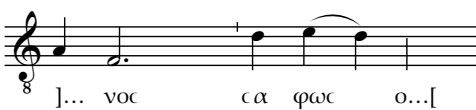
Line 19



Line 20



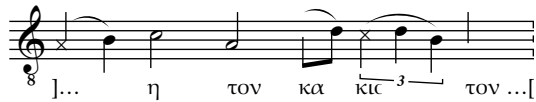
Line 21



Line 22



Line 23

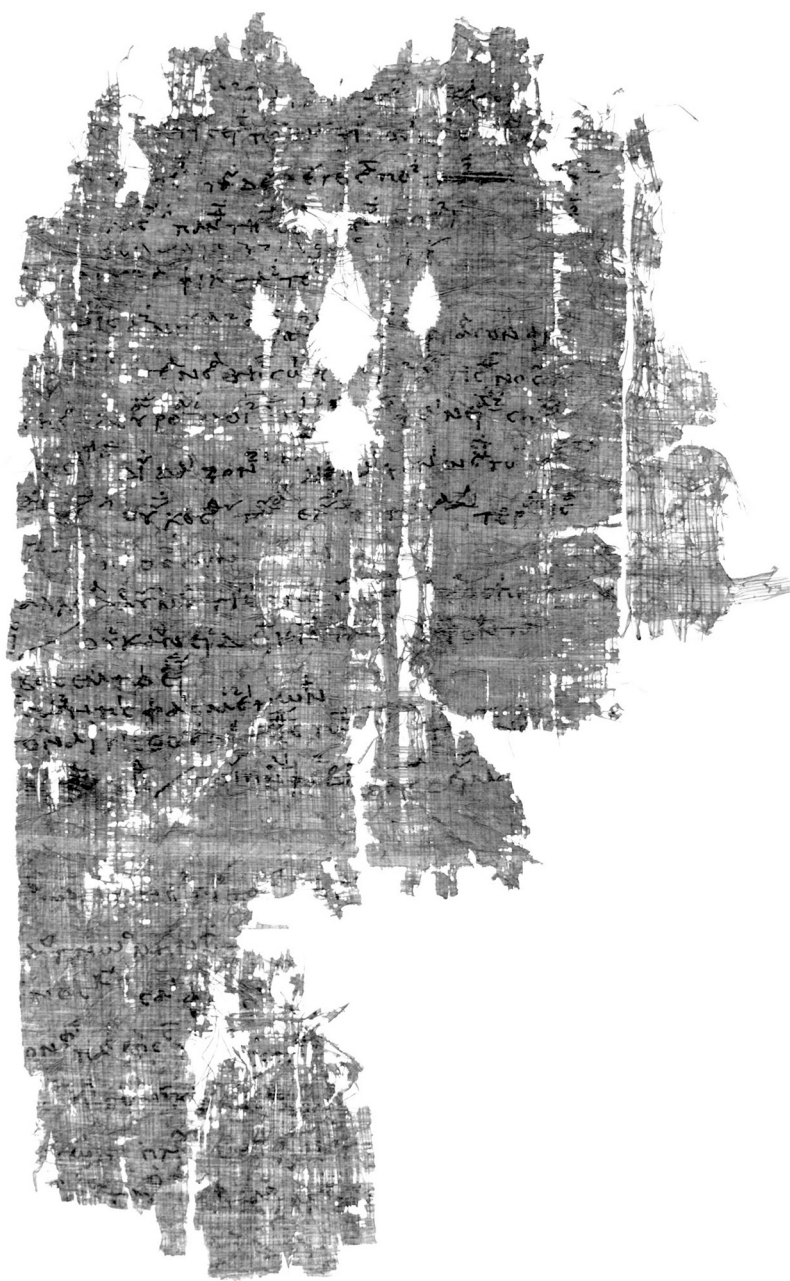


Line 24



Line 25





P.Grenf. 1.5, Origen, and the Scriptorium of Caesarea¹

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Abstract

P.Grenf. 1.5, a fragment from a papyrus codex with Ezekiel 5:12-6:3, is here put in its historical context. Since it was written close to Origen's own lifetime (185-254 CE), it provides early evidence about how he used critical signs in his editions of the Old Testament. It also sheds light on the work of the scriptorium of Caesarea half a century later.

P.Grenf. 1.5 — *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Origen's critical signs — Hexaplaric Texts and *P.Grenf.* 1.5 — The "Revised" Edition of the Bible— *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and the Codex Marchalianus (Q)— Critical Signs in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Q — The Position of the Critical Signs in the "Revised" LXX Text — *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Origen's Work on the Bible — Conclusions

P.Grenf. 1.5 (= Bodl. MS. Gr. bibl. d. 4 (P) = Van Haelst 0314 = Rahlfs 0922) is a fragment from a papyrus codex containing a passage from Ezekiel (5:12-6:3). After its publication by Grenfell in 1896,² this papyrus has been included in the online repertoire of the Papyri from the Rise of Christianity in Egypt (PCE) at Macquarie University (section 24, item 332). However, to

¹ I presented earlier versions of this paper at the 27th International Congress of Papyrology, Warsaw, in July 2013, and at the SBL Annual Meeting, San Diego, in November 2014. I would like to thank all the attendees of the sessions for questions and comments. While writing the final version, I had helpful exchanges with Willy Clarysse and Peter Gentry, who also both provided very useful bibliographical references. In particular, during my visit at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in May 2015, Peter Gentry spent considerable time with me discussing many issues related to the Hexapla and its tradition. He also provided me with digital images of the Codex Chisianus 88 (Vat. Chigiani R. VII. 45), which I needed to inspect. I am very grateful to him for all his generous and valuable help. Jason Zurawski helped me with the Hebrew and Syriac. Lastly I would like to thank the anonymous readers for their constructive criticism and helpful suggestions. — For abbreviated references see the bibliography at the end.

² Grenfell 1896, 9-11. See Ziegler 1952, 36.

my knowledge no one has attempted to study this fragment within its historical context and compare it with other, similar manuscripts. This is the aim of this article, in which I would like to show that *P.Grenf.* 1.5, being very close to Origen's lifetime (185-254 CE), provides important evidence about how critical signs were used in Origen's edition of the Old Testament. This papyrus fragment also sheds some light on the work carried out in the scriptorium of Caesarea between the third and fourth century CE.

P.Grenf. 1.5

The fragment (14 cm wide and 10.7 cm high) belongs to the upper part of the page of the codex. The upper margin is preserved and is 1.7 cm high on both sides. As for the external margins of the original codex, the external (= right) margin of the *recto*³ at the widest point (l. 5) is 2 cm, while the external (= left) margin of the *verso* at the widest point (l. 5) is 2.3 cm, suggesting an average width of ca. 2.15 cm for the external margin. On the other hand, the internal (= left) margin of the *recto* is preserved at the widest point (ll. 2-4 and 10-13) at ca. 1.2 cm, while the internal (= right) margin of the *verso* is between 1 cm (l. 10) and 1.8 cm (l. 12), which indicates an average width of ca. 1.5 cm for the internal margin.

The page has one single column of text with an average of 24 or 25 letters per line. According to Turner, this page layout is typical of early Christian codices, while codices containing Greek prose literature tend to have more letters per line (an average of 40 letters per line).⁴ Most of Ezek. 5:15⁵ is missing because it was written in the lost lower part of the page; this verse might have occupied some four lines.⁶ We can thus reconstruct the original layout: since the fragment is ca. 14 cm wide and 10.7 cm high with a lacuna of four lines in the lower part, it is likely that this was a "square" codex of 14 x 14-15 cm, according to Turner's classification.⁷ This format is typical of codices of the third/fourth century CE; in fact, many codices of this size can be dated to the end of the third century CE at the latest.

³ I use the terms *recto/verso* as they are unambiguous in this case, since *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is a codex. In addition, the *recto* is also the side written along the fibers and the *verso* is across the fibers.

⁴ Cf. Turner 1977, 85-87. The papyrus is classified as **OT 207** in Turner 1977, 183.

⁵ καὶ ἔση στενακτὴ καὶ δηλαῖστί ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς κύκλῳ σου ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαί με ἐν σοὶ κρίματα ἐν ἐκδικήσει θυμοῦ μου.

⁶ See below, p. 203.

⁷ Turner 1977, 21, and 24-25.

The dating of this papyrus is indeed crucial for discussing its relationship with Origen's work; unfortunately, as often happens with literary papyri and especially codices, which never have a datable documentary text on the back, dating can only be determined on paleographical grounds, and this is a notoriously slippery practice. *P.Grenf.* 1.5 has ε with a protruding middle stroke and a straight back, α with a rounded loop (although sometimes it is more wedge-shaped); o is small and circular, while θ is quite large and its middle stroke does not extend beyond the oval; σ is sometimes rounded and sometimes more narrow with a rather straight back; μ and ν are wide, and μ has a middle stroke written as a single curve, ν is Y-shaped, ψ has a very wide and almost flat cup, ω has a flat bottom without a definite division into two lobes. Bilinearity is generally preserved with the exception of o, which floats above the line, and of υ, ρ, ψ, and sometimes τ, whose stems descend below the line with a slant to the left. The script belongs to the "formal mixed" (or "severe") style with a sloping hand (sometimes called "sloping oval style") according to the classification of Turner-Parsons; this style began in the second century CE and extended into the fourth or even fifth century CE.⁸ More precisely, according to a recent article on the paleography of New Testament papyri by Orsini-Clarysse, the letters of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 find parallels both in the "severe style" (γ, ε, θ, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, σ, ω) and in the "sloping ogival majuscule" (α, π, ρ, σ, τ, θ, ψ); thus the script seems to belong to the "transition from the sloping severe style to the sloping ogival majuscule."⁹ Among the papyri that Orsini-Clarysse mention as typical of this "transitional" script, which develops in the late third to fourth centuries and runs through the fifth,¹⁰ *P.Grenf.* 1.5 shows some similarities with *P.Oxy.* 6.847, *P.Berol. inv.* 11765, and *P.Schøyen* 1.20,¹¹ all dated to the fourth century; yet the script of these papyri is much more bilinear and regular than the one in *P.Grenf.* 1.5. The script of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 finds a much closer parallel in *P.Chester Beatty* XI, dated to the early fourth century; however, Cavallo-Maehler rightly point out that a similar script can also be found in the second half of the third century; for example, in *P.Berol. inv.* 9766, dated to the middle of the third

⁸ Turner-Parsons 1987, 22, give as examples 14 (Harris Homer Codex = *P.Brit.Lib.* 126, dated to the second half of the third century CE), 42 (= *P.Oxy.* 11.1373, dated to the fifth century CE), and 49 (= *P.Oxy.* 34.2699, dated to the fourth century CE).

⁹ Orsini-Clarysse 2012. In particular, the script of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 finds parallels in scripts 4 (severe style), 5 (transitional phase from severe style to sloping ogival majuscule), and 6 (sloping ogival majuscule) in the comparative paleographical chart at the end of the article (Orsini-Clarysse 2012, 468). In the PCE at Macquarie University, on the other hand, the script of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is defined as a "sloping literary informal round hand."

¹⁰ Orsini-Clarysse 2012, 453-454.

¹¹ Orsini-Clarysse 2012, 457.

century.¹² Indeed, among papyri dated with certainty, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 shares similarities with *P.Ryl.* 1.57¹³ and especially *P.Flor.* 2.108 (e.g. α, ε, μ, ν, ο, ρ, σ, φ, ω, as well as the breaking of bilinearity and the sloping hand).¹⁴ Both papyri are from the Heroninus archive and the documents on their back date from shortly before or shortly after 260 CE. The literary texts on the *recto* of *P.Ryl.* 1.57 and *P.Flor.* 2.108 are thus dated to around 200 CE.¹⁵ These parallels suggest that the script of *P.Grenf.* 1.5, though transitional, is closer to the sloping severe style, which developed after 200 CE,¹⁶ rather than the sloping ogival majuscule, and therefore this does not exclude a late third-century dating for *P.Grenf.* 1.5.

As is clear from the above discussion, the paleographical comparison is far from decisive when it comes to a precise dating of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 – parallels simply point to the late third or fourth century CE. For example, Grenfell dated the fragment to the third or fourth century, with a preference for a later dating, but Wessely did not exclude the late third century. Orsini-Clarysse have now proposed 300-350 CE.¹⁷ On the basis of the early parallels mentioned above, I would suggest a late third/early fourth century date. I will come back to the dating of the papyrus at the end of my discussion of its context and its meaning.

Before analyzing the historical meaning of *P.Grenf.* 1.5, it is useful to first look at its content. For this purpose I offer a re-edition of the papyrus on the basis of a new collation I made in Oxford in summer 2011 and on subsequent examination of high-resolution digital images. The original to which Grenfell had access was probably better preserved, as I could not read some letters that he seems to have detected in the manuscript; now the ink is completely faded in many places. I have supplemented the text in square brackets when nothing was legible either because of faded ink or a gap in the papyrus; I have also put a dot underneath letters which were barely visible at the time of my inspection. I have compared the text to and added supplements from the Göttingen

¹² Cavallo-Maehler 1987, 10-11 (2b), who dated P.Berol. inv. 9766 at the end of the third century CE on the basis of the (false) identification (first proposed by Della Corte) of the scribe of this papyrus with the one of *P.Oxy.* 1.23, whose *terminus ante quem* is 295 CE, the consular date in the documentary text on the back. The most widely accepted dating for P.Berol. inv. 9766 is now the middle of the third century CE; cf. Seider 1970, 95; Haslam in *CPF* I.1***, 80.96T, 491.

¹³ Roberts 1955, 22c.

¹⁴ Roberts 1955, 22a.

¹⁵ Cf. Roberts 1955, 22.

¹⁶ Orsini-Clarysse 2012, 456.

¹⁷ I would like to thank Willy Clarysse for sharing his and Orsini's unpublished research (from a paper they delivered at the Symposium Das Neue Testament und sein Text im 2. Jahrhundert, Dresden, 6 March 2015) and for discussing the dating of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 with me.

Septuaginta by Ziegler¹⁸ (Ω); in the apparatus I also record the readings of A (Codex Alexandrinus, fifth century CE)¹⁹ and B (Codex Vaticanus, fourth century CE),²⁰ among the most important manuscripts for the LXX.²¹

Recto

- 5:12 καὶ τ[ὸ τέτ]α[ρτόν] σου πεσοῦνται
 ἐν ῥο[μ]φ[αί]α κύ[κλ]ω σου καὶ τὸ
 τέταρτ[όν] σου εἰς π[άν]τα ἄνεμο(ν)
 σκορπ[ιῶ] αὐτούς· καὶ μάχαιραν]
 5 ἐκκεν[ώ]σω [ὅπ]ισω α[ὐτ]ῶν. 5:13 καὶ
 συντ[ελεσθήσ]ετ[αι] ὁ θυμός]
 μου καὶ ἡ ὀργή ἐπ' αὐτού[ς], καὶ πα-]
 ρακληθήσομαι καὶ ἐπιγ[νώσῃ]
 διότι [ἐγώ] κ[ύριος] λελάλ[ηκα ἐν ζήλῳ]
 10 μου ἐν τῷ συντελ[έσαι με τὴν]
 ὀργὴν μου ἐπ' αὐτ[ούς]. 5:14 καὶ θήσο-]
 μαί σε εἰς ἔρημον * [καὶ εἰς ὄνει-]
 δος τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύκλῳ σου]
 [καὶ τ]ὰς θυγατέρας σου [κύκλῳ σου]
 15 [ἐνώπιον] παντὸς διοδ[εύοντος]

1-4 καὶ τ[ὸ τέτ]α[ρτόν] σου πεσοῦνται | ἐν ῥο[μ]φ[αί]α κύ[κλ]ω σου καὶ
 τὸ | τέταρτ[όν] σου εἰς π[άν]τα ἄνεμο(ν) | σκορπ[ιῶ] αὐτούς; καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν
 σου εἰς πάντα ἄνεμον διασκορπιῶ (σκορπιῶ B, διασπερῶ A) αὐτούς· καὶ τὸ
 τέταρτόν σου ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ πεσοῦνται κύκλῳ σου Ω 7 ἡ ὀργή: ἡ ὀργή
 μου Ω 7-8 πα[ρ]ακληθήσομαι καὶ: om Ω 9 [ἐν ζήλῳ] with Ω: ἐν τῷ
 ζήλῳ A 12-13 [καὶ εἰς ὄνει]δος τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύκλῳ σου]: om. Ω
 14 [κύκλῳ σου] with Ω, κυκλωσουσιν A*

¹⁸ Ziegler 1952, 108-109.

¹⁹ On the Codex Alexandrianus (Brit. Lib. Royal I. D. v-viii), see Rahlfs 1914, 114-116; Swete 1914, 125-126; Jellicoe 1968, 183-188; Metzger 1981, 86-87 (no. 18).

²⁰ On the Codex Vaticanus (Vat. Gr. 1209), see Rahlfs 1914, 258-260; Swete 1914, 126-128; Jellicoe 1968, 177-179; Metzger 1981, 74-75 (no. 13).

²¹ Another very important witness for this specific passage of Ezekiel is the Codex Marchalianus (Q), dating to the sixth century CE. I will provide a detailed comparison between *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and this latter manuscript below (see pp. 199-203). On the other hand, the famous papyrus codex known as Rahlfs 0967 (fragments are hosted in several collections: Cologne, Dublin, Madrid, Montserrat, and Princeton), dating to the second or third century CE, preserves a portion of Ezekiel (11:25-17:21, 19:12-39:29) that does not match the one contained in *P.Grenf.* 1.5. Thus, even if this is a very interesting witness for the text of Ezekiel, I will not use it in the present study.

Verso

- ἐγὼ κ(ύριο)ς λελάληκα. ^{5:16} ἐν τῷ ἐξαποστει-
 λαί με τὰς βολίδας μου τ[ο]ῦ λι[μ]οῦ
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔσονται εἰς [ἐ]κλ[ει]-
 ψιν, * ἃ [ἀ]πο[σ]τελῶ αὐτὰ δι[α]φθ[ε]ρῶ-
 5 * ραι ὑμ[ᾶ]ς καὶ λειμὸν συ[ν]άξω ἐφ' ὑ-
 [μᾶς καὶ] συντρίψω στ[ή]ριγ[μα] ἄρ-
 [του σου.] ^{5:17} κα[ὶ] ἐξαποστελῶ ἐπὶ σὲ λι-
 [μὸν κα]ὶ θηρία πονηρὰ καὶ [τ]ειμω-
 [ρήσομ]αί σε, καὶ θάνατος καὶ αἷμα
 10 [διελεύσονται] ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ῥομφαίαν
 [ἐπάξω ἐπὶ] σὲ [κ]υκ[λ]ήθεν· ἐγὼ κ(ύριο)ς
 [λελάληκα. ^{6:1} κα]ὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κ(υρίου)ν
 [πρὸς με λ]έγων· ^{6:2} οὐκ ἀν(θρώπων)ου, στήρι-
 [σον τὸ πρ]όσωπόν σου [ἐπ]ὶ τ[ὴ]ν ὄρη]
 15 [Ι(σρα)ηλ ^{6:3} ἀκούσ]ατε λόγον Ἀδ[ωναῖ]

1 ἐν τῷ Ω: καὶ ἐν τῷ Β 2 τ[ο]ῦ λι[μ]οῦ Ω: τοῦ θυμοῦ Α 3-4 [ἐ]κλ[ει]ψιν: ἔκλειψιν omnes: ἐξάλειψιν Corn. p. 207 (cf. Ziegler 1952, 109, app. ad loc.) 4 * above the alpha, as if inserted later 4-6 ἃ [ἀ]πο[σ]τελῶ αὐτὰ δι[α]φθ[ε]ρῶ[ν] εἰ[ρη]αὶ ὑμ[ᾶ]ς καὶ λειμὸν συ[ν]άξω ἐφ' ὑ[μᾶς]: om. Ω 5 λειμὸν: leg. λιμὸν 8-9 [τ]ειμω[ρ]ήσομ[αι]: leg. [τ]ειμω[ρ]ήσομ[αι] 14-15 [ἐπ]ὶ τ[ὴ]ν ὄρη | [Ι(σρα)ηλ ἀκούσ]ατε: ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραὴλ καὶ προφήτευσον ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ ἔρεις τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραὴλ, ἀκούσατε Ω 15 λόγον Ἀδ[ωναῖ]: λόγον κυρίου Ω

P.Grenf. 1.5 and Origen's Critical Signs

The text in the papyrus mostly follows Ω, but it shows an interesting agreement with the Codex Vaticanus (B) in the reading σκορπιῶ against Ω (διασκορπιῶ) and the Codex Alexandrinus (διασπερῶ) at Ezek. 5:12 (*P.Grenf.* 1.5, l. 4r). The most significant difference, however, is that the text in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is longer than Ω, as the papyrus includes some additions to the text of the LXX. Even more interestingly, these additions are sometimes highlighted with *asteriskoi* within the text and in the margin. It is not clear whether the *asteriskoi* were written by the same hand as the main text. They seem to have been written by a finer stylus; yet, even if added at a second stage (including the one in line 4 of the *verso*, which was definitely added later, as it is placed in the interlinear space), the text was from the start intended to have *asteriskoi* in it. This is clear from line 12 of the *recto* (figure 1), where the *asteriskos* is placed within the text; in this case, the space was intentionally saved by the first scribe who wrote the text so as to allow for inserting the sign, which means that the original editorial product was meant to include *asteriskoi*.

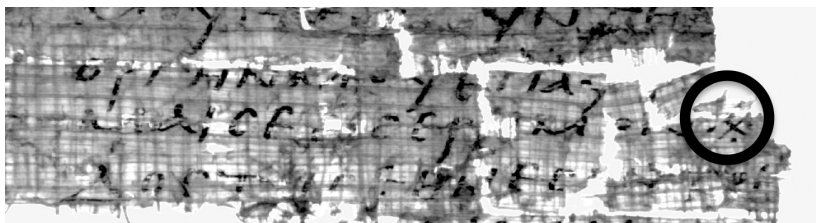


Figure 1: The *asteriskos* in line 12 of the *recto* of P.Grenf. 1.5 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Gr. bib. d. 4 (P). Reproduced by courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

Asteriskoi in a text of the Bible unquestionably recall Origen's work on the Old Testament, as he himself explains in a passage from the *Commentary to Matthew* (ca. 249 CE):²²

Origen, *Comm. Mt.* 15.14 (387.27-388.24 Klostermann): νυνὶ δὲ δῆλον ὅτι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορὰ, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς <εἴτε ἀπὸ ἀμελούντων> τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει <ἢ> προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης διαφωνίαν θεοῦ διδόντος εὗρομεν ἰάσασθαι, κριτηρίῳ χρησάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν· τῶν γὰρ ἀμφιβαλλομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβδομήκοντα διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφωνίαν τὴν κρίσιν ποιησάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων τὸ συνᾶδον ἐκείναις ἐφυλάξαμεν, καὶ τινὰ μὲν ὠβελίσσαμεν <ὥς> ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ μὴ κείμενα (οὐ τολμήσαντες αὐτὰ πάντῃ περιελεῖν), τινὰ δὲ μετ' ἀστερίσκων προσεθήκαμεν, ἵνα δῆλον ᾖ ὅτι μὴ κείμενα παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβδομήκοντα ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων συμφώνως τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ προσεθήκαμεν.

Now it is clear that among the manuscripts there was great discrepancy, [and for various reasons]: because of the carelessness of the scribes, or because of evil daring of some [copyists], or because of the correctors of the text already written down who did not care [to correct it properly], or because some added or took away whatever they decided when they were correcting it. Therefore with God's will, we contrived to fix the discrepancy in the manuscripts of the Old

²² For a general introduction on critical signs, see Gudeman 1922 and Stein 2007. On the relationship between the Alexandrian and the Origenian critical signs, see Schironi 2012.

Testament, using as a guiding principle the other editions. Judging what is in dispute in the Septuagint because of the discrepancy of the manuscripts we kept what the other editions agreed upon. And we marked with an obelos some passages because they were not present in the Hebrew version (not daring to delete them altogether), while we added other passages together with asteriskoi so that it was clear that they were not present in the Septuagint; we made these additions from the other editions which agree with the Hebrew Bible.²³

In adopting the critical *sigla* for his editorial work on the Bible, Origen, who was born and raised in Alexandria and was educated there as a *grammatikos*, was consciously going back to a tradition established by the Greek scholars working in the Alexandrian Library, as he himself clarifies in his *Letter to Africanus* (PG 11, 56B-57A: σημεία παρεθήκαμεν τοὺς καλουμένους παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ὀβελούς ... ὡς πάλιν ἀστερίσκους).²⁴ In Origen's system, however, the *obelos* and *asteriskos* have meanings different from the original Alexandrian signs, as they mark quantitative differences between two texts, the Hebrew Bible and the LXX. The *obelos* highlights what is present in the LXX and not in the Hebrew Bible, and the *asteriskos* what is absent in the LXX and present in the Hebrew Bible. As Origen himself explains in the above passage from the *Commentary to Matthew*, he compared different editions of the Bible in order to use these signs on the LXX (τὴν κρίσιν ποιησάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων) and added passages marked with *asteriskoi* to the LXX by taking them from other editions (i.e. translations) of the Bible (τινὰ δὲ μετ' ἀστερίσκων προσεθήκαμεν ... ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων συμφώνως τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ προσεθήκαμεν).

²³ On this passage, see Neuschäfer 1987, 88-93; Grafton-Williams 2006, 125-126; Stein 2007, 145-147.

²⁴ The *obelos* and the *asteriskos* are the only critical signs discussed by Origen. He never mentions the other critical signs used for the OT, the *metobelos*, the *lemniskos*, or the *hypolemniskos*. While the *metobelos* is present in some later manuscripts (such as the codices Colberto-Sarravianus and the Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus; see below, pp. 207-208), only Epiphanius, who probably never saw the Hexapla (Neuschäfer 1987, 97), attributes the *lemniskos* and *hypolemniskos* to Origen (*De mens. pond.* 8 and 17). These two σημεία are then listed as Biblical critical signs in later compendia, but these works depend from Epiphanius (e.g. Isid. *Et.* 1.21.5; *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione verbi*, 249 Diekamp); cf. Stein 2007, 147-152. In addition, the *metobelos*, *lemniskos*, and *hypolemniskos* are not among the σημεία invented and used by the Alexandrian grammarians. The lack of evidence that Origen ever used these three signs should be taken into account when discussing the reliability of later manuscripts, such as the Syro-Hexaplaric ones, in preserving the "original" *sigla* used by Origen. See below, pp. 211-212.

The *asteriskoi* in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 thus connect this text with Origen's editorial activity on the Bible. A synoptic view of the text in *P.Grenf.* 1.5, the LXX, the Hebrew Bible, and its translation (tables 1-2, pp. 190-193) is useful for testing the possibility that our papyrus follows Origen's system in using critical signs in the LXX. The text has been divided according to the chapters of the Hebrew version.²⁵

P.Grenf. 1.5 agrees with the Hebrew Bible against the LXX in adding some phrases missing in the latter, which are marked in underlined bold in the synopsis:

- [καὶ πα]ρακληθήσονται in Ezek. 5:13 (*P.Grenf.* 1.5, *recto*, ll. 7-8).
- [καὶ εἰς ὄνει]δος τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖ[ς κύκλῳ σου] in Ezek. 5:14 (*P.Grenf.* 1.5, *recto*, ll. 12-13).
- ἀ [ἀ]πο[σ]τελῶ ἀντὶ ἀδ[ι]αφθ[ε]ρί[σ]ται ὑμ[ᾶ]ς καὶ λειμὸν συ[ν]άξω ἐφ' ὑ[μᾶς] in Ezek. 5:16 (*P.Grenf.* 1.5, *verso*, ll. 4-6).

The last addition in Ezek. 5:16 is marked in the papyrus with an *asteriskos* at the beginning (l. 4v) and one in the margin (l. 5v), while the end of the addition (l. 6v) is now in a lacuna, so it is impossible to know whether an *asteriskos* was placed there as well. Similarly, the addition to Ezek. 5:14 in the *recto*, lines 12-13, is marked by an *asteriskos* within the text at the beginning of it (l. 12r), while the end of the addition (l. 13r) is now in a lacuna. Only the addition to Ezek. 5:13 in the *recto*, lines 7-8, is not marked by any sign, but its beginning falls in a lacuna ([καὶ πα]ρακληθήσονται), so that we cannot exclude that at least an *asteriskos* was placed in lacuna at line 7 just before the addition, as happens at line 12. On the other hand, there is no *asteriskos* within line 8 to mark the end of the addition, which is fully preserved.

The agreement with the Hebrew version is not limited to additions. At Ezek. 5:12, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 follows the order of phrases of the Hebrew text (marked in underlined italics and underlined bold italics) rather than the order in the LXX. Yet, interestingly enough, while following the order of the Hebrew, the papyrus preserves the readings of the LXX ("one quarter shall fall by the sword around you; and one quarter I will scatter to every wind") and not the reading of the Hebrew text ("one third shall fall by the sword around you; and one third I will scatter to every wind").²⁶

²⁵ I would like to thank Jason Zurawski for helping me with the tables 1 and 2 and in particular with the Hebrew text in them.

²⁶ In the Hebrew text, at Ezek. 5:12 there are only three plagues (1. pestilence and famine; 2. sword; 3. wind), while in the LXX the first one (pestilence and famine) is

Table 1 (left): *P.Grenf.* 1.5 *recto*, LXX, and Hebrew Bible

<i>Recto of P.Grenf. 1.5</i>	LXX (Ziegler)
<div>5:12 <i>καὶ τ[ὸ τέτ]α[ρτόν] σου πεσοῦνται</i> <i>ἐν ῥο[μ]φα[ί]α κύ[κλ]ω σου καὶ τὸ</i> <i>τέταρτ[όν] σου εἰς πάντα ἄνεμο(ν)</i> <i>σκορπ[ιῶ] αὐτούς· καὶ μάχαιραν</i> 5 <i>ἐκκεν[ώ]σω [ὀπ]ίσω α[ὐτ]ῶν.</i></div>	<div>5:12 τὸ τέταρτόν σου ἐν θανάτῳ ἀναλωθήσεται· καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου ἐν λιμῷ συντελεσθήσεται ἐν μέσῳ σου· καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου εἰς πάντα ἄνεμον διασκορπιῶ αὐτούς· καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ πεσοῦνται κύκλῳ σου, καὶ μάχαιραν ἐκκενώσω ὀπίσω αὐτῶν.</div>
<div>5:13 καὶ συντ[ελεσθήσ]ετ[αι] ὁ θυμός[μου καὶ ἡ ὀργὴ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ[ς, καὶ πα-] ρακληθήσομαι καὶ ἐπιγ[νώσῃ] διότι [ἐγὼ] κ[ύριος] λελάλ[ηκα ἐν ζήλῳ] 10 μου ἐν τῷ συντελ[έσαι με τήν] ὀργήν μου ἐπ’ αὐτ[ούς].</div>	<div>5:13 καὶ συντελεσθήσεται ὁ θυμός μου καὶ ἡ ὀργὴ μου ἐπ’ αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπιγνώσῃ διότι ἐγὼ κύριος λελάληκα ἐν ζήλῳ μου ἐν τῷ συντελέσαι με τήν ὀργήν μου ἐπ’ αὐτούς.</div>
<div>5:14 καὶ θήσο-] μαί σε εἰς ἔρημον * [καὶ εἰς ὄνει-] δος τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύκλῳ σου] <i>[καὶ τ]ὰς θυγατέρας σου [κύκλῳ σου]</i> 15 <i>[ἐνώπιον] παντὸς διοδ[εύοντος]</i></div>	<div>5:14 καὶ θήσο- μαί σε εἰς ἔρημον <i>καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας σου κύκλῳ σου</i> <i>ἐνώπιον παντὸς διοδεύοντος,</i></div>

Another similarity between the papyrus and the Hebrew version occurs at Ezek. 6:3, where the papyrus has λόγον Ἄδ[ωναῖ] (the latter word is in bold) followed by a lacuna as the preserved portion of the fragment reaches its end, instead of λόγον κυρίου in the LXX. The reading of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 might have been λόγον Ἄδωναῖ κυρίου, which is a variant reading present in some manuscripts,²⁷ and which is the exact translation of the original Hebrew יהוה יְהוָה “the word of the Lord (i.e. *Adonai*) Yahweh.” Generally the Greek versions use κύριος to translate the tetragrammaton *YHWH* (Yahweh); sometimes, however, κύριος can also be used to translate the cluster *Adonai YHWH* in the Hebrew text.²⁸

turned into two different punishments, so that people are now divided into quarters, not thirds. On this discrepancy between the MT and the LXX, see Olley 2009, 264.

²⁷ Cf. Ziegler 1952, 109, app. ad loc.; manuscripts have both κυρίου Ἄδωναῖ and, more often, Ἄδωναῖ κυρίου.

²⁸ On the rendering of the name for God, and especially of the tetragrammaton, in the Greek Bible, see Cerfaux 1931a, Cerfaux 1931b; Jellicoe 1968, 270-272; Metzger 1981, 33-35 (with further bibliography).

Table 1 (right): *P.Grenf.* 1.5 *recto*, LXX, and Hebrew Bible

Hebrew Bible	Hebrew Bible Translation
<p>5:12 שלשתיך בדבר ימותו וברעב יכלו בתוך והשלשית בחרב יפלו סביבותיך והשלשית לכל־יְרֹחַ אֹרֶחַ וחרב אֶרֶץ אַחֲרֵיהֶם</p>	<p>5:12 One third of you shall die of pestilence or be consumed by famine among you; <u>one third shall fall by the sword around you</u>; <u>and one third I will scatter to every wind</u> and will unsheathe the sword after them.</p>
<p>5:13 וכלה אפי והנחותי חמתי במ והנחמתי וידעו כי־אני יהוה דברתי בקנאתי בכלותי חמתי במ</p>	<p>5:13 My anger shall spend itself, and I will vent my fury on them <u>and satisfy myself</u>; and they shall know that I, Yahweh, have spoken in my jealousy, when I spend my fury on them.</p>
<p>5:14 ואתנך לחרבה ולחרפה בגוים אשר סביבותיך</p>	<p>5:14 Moreover I will make you a desolation <u>and an object of mocking among the nations around you</u>, in the sight of all that pass by.</p>
<p>לעיני כל־עובר</p>	

The latter is the choice of the LXX in this specific passage (κύριον, underlined in the table), while other manuscripts (and perhaps also *P.Grenf.* 1.5) have κύριος together with the sacred name *Adonai* as well, transliterated into Greek.

There is however one instance where the papyrus follows the LXX rather than the Hebrew version: in Ezek. 5:14, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 (l. 14r) follows the LXX in reading [καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας σου κύκλω σου] (in italics in the table) against the Hebrew text which omits the phrase. According to Origen's use, an *obelos* should be present in the margin, but a lacuna in the papyrus prevents us from confirming this.²⁹

²⁹ *P.Grenf.* 1.5, deviates from the LXX at Ezek. 6:2-3, since it has [ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη] | [I(σρα)ηλ ἀκούσ]ατε (ll. 14-15v), whereas the LXX has ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραὴλ καὶ προφήτευσον ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ ἐρεῖς τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραὴλ, ἀκούσατε. This is not, however, indication of a different text but rather a scribal mistake: in copying the text the scribe of the papyrus skipped from the first Ἰσραὴλ to the second, omitting what was in between (an error which in technical terminology is called "saut du même au même"; cf. West 1973, 24).

Table 2 (left): *P.Grenf.* 1.5 verso, LXX, and Hebrew Bible

Verso of <i>P.Grenf.</i> 1.5	LXX (Ziegler)
	<p>^{5:15} καὶ ἔσῃ στενακτὴ καὶ δηλαῖστίῃ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς κύκλῳ σου ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαί με ἐν σοὶ κρίματα ἐν ἐκδικήσει θυμοῦ μου·</p>
ἐγὼ κ(ύριος)ς λελάληκα.	ἐγὼ κύριος λελάληκα.
<p>^{5:16} ἐν τῷ ἔξαποστεῖ- λαί με τὰς βολίδας μου τ[ο]ῦ λι[μ]οῦ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔσονται εἰς [ἔ]κλ[ει-] ψιν, * ᾗ [ἀ]πο[σ]τελῶ αὐτὰ δι[α]φθ[ε]ρί- 5 * ραι ὑμ[ᾶ]ς καὶ λειμὸν συ[ν]άξω ἐφ' ὑ- [μᾶς καὶ] συντρίψω στ[ή]ριγ[μα] ἄρ- [του σου.]</p>	<p>^{5:16} ἐν τῷ ἔξαποστεῖ- λαί με τὰς βολίδας μου τοῦ λιμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ἔκλει- ψιν, καὶ συντρίψω στήριγμα ἄρ- του σου.</p>
<p>^{5:17} κα[ὶ] ἐ]ξαποστελῶ ἐπὶ σέ λι- [μὸν κα]ὶ θηρία πονηρὰ καὶ [τ]ειμω- [ρήσομ]αί σε, καὶ θάνατος καὶ αἷμα 10 [διελεύσονται] ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ῥομφαίαν [ἐπάξω ἐπὶ] σέ [κ]υκ[λ]όθεν· ἐγὼ κ(ύριος) λελάληκα.</p>	<p>^{5:17} καὶ ἔξαποστελῶ ἐπὶ σέ λι- μὸν καὶ θηρία πονηρὰ καὶ τιμω- ρήσομαί σε, καὶ θάνατος καὶ αἷμα διελεύσονται ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ῥομφαίαν ἐπάξω ἐπὶ σέ κυκλόθεν· ἐγὼ κύριος λελάληκα.</p>
<p>^{6:1} καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κ(υρίου)ν [πρὸς με λ]έγων·</p>	<p>^{6:1} καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων·</p>
<p>^{6:2} υἱὲ ἀν(θρώπ)ου, στήρι- [σον τὸ πρ]όσωπόν σου [ἐπ]ὶ τ[ὴ] ὄρη 15 [Ι(σρα)ηλ]</p>	<p>^{6:2} υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, στήρι- σον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραηλ καὶ προφήτευσον ἐπ' αὐτὰ</p>
<p>^{6:3} ἀκούσατε λόγον Ἀδ[ωναΐ]</p>	<p>^{6:3} καὶ ἐρεῖς τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραηλ, ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου τάδε λέγει κύριος τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς καὶ ταῖς φάραγξι καὶ ταῖς νάπαις ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ῥομφαίαν, καὶ ἐξολεθρευθήσεται τὰ ὑψηλὰ ὑμῶν.</p>

Table 2 (right): *P.Grenf. 1.5 verso*, LXX, and Hebrew Bible

Hebrew Bible	Hebrew Bible Translation
והיתה חרפה וגדופה מוסר ומשמה לגוים אשר סביבותיך בעשותי כך שפטים באף ובחמה ובתכחות חמה אני יהוה דברתי	5:15 You shall be a mockery and a taunt, a warning and a horror, to the nations around you, when I execute judgments on you in anger and fury, and with furious punishments – I, Yahweh, have spoken –
בשלחי את־חצי הרעב הרעים בהם אשר היו למשחית אשר־אשלח אותם לשחתכם ורעב אסף עליכם ושברתי לכם מטה־לחם	5:16 when I loose against you my deadly arrows of famine, arrows for destruction, <u>which I will let loose to destroy you, and when I bring more and more famine upon you,</u> and break your staff of bread.
ושלחתי עליכם רעב וחיה רעה ושכלך ודבר ודם יעבר־בך וחרב אביא עליך אני יהוה דברתי	5:17 I will send famine and wild animals against you, and they will rob you of your children; pestilence and bloodshed shall pass through you; and I will bring the sword upon you. I, Yahweh, have spoken.
ויהי דברי־יהוה אלי לאמר	6:1 The word of Yahweh came to me:
בן־אדם שים פניך אל־הרי ישראל והנבא אליהם	6:2 O mortal, set your face toward the mountains of Israel, and prophesy against them,
ואמרת הרי ישראל שמעו דבר־אדני יהוה כה־אמר אדני יהוה להרים ולגבעות לאפיקים ולגאית הנני אני מביא עליכם חרב ואבדתי במותיכם	6:3 and say, You mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord Yahweh! Thus says the Lord Yahweh to the mountains and the hills, to the ravines and the valleys: I, I myself will bring a sword upon you, and I will destroy your high places.

In summary, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 seems to include the Greek text of the LXX with additions of passages from the Hebrew Bible (absent from the LXX) taken over from other Greek translations of the original Hebrew. These additions are accompanied by *asteriskoi*, following Origen's system of critical signs. Yet the comparison with the Hebrew version seems to have been limited to marking out the "quantitative" differences between the two texts. The scribe does not seem to have been interested in noticing or incorporating different readings from the Hebrew Bible; this is proved by Ezek. 5:12, in which the scribe of the papyrus followed the sentence order but not the readings (i.e., "thirds" vs. "quarters") of the Hebrew text.³⁰

Hexaplaric Texts and P.Grenf. 1.5

The comparison of different versions of the Bible inevitably reminds us of Origen's *magnum opus*: the Hexapla. According to the most widely accepted opinion, Origen's Hexapla was an edition of the Bible in six synoptic columns in this order: the Hebrew Bible (Column 1), the Hebrew Bible transliterated into Greek letters (Column 2), the Greek translation by Aquila (Column 3), the Greek translation by Symmachus (Column 4), the LXX (Column 5), and the Greek translation by Theodotion (Column 6). The function and position of the critical signs and their relation to this synoptic edition are some of the many problems confronting modern scholars who attempt to reconstruct the original Hexapla. For some scholars³¹ the critical signs were placed in the Hexapla itself, in the fifth column where the LXX was written; other scholars,³² however, disagree and think that critical signs were placed in a self-standing text with the LXX only, not least because Origen never speaks of *obeloi* and *asteriskoi* in connection with the Hexapla.

The latter scenario seems to find support in later manuscript evidence. There are two "hexaplaric" manuscripts extant, that is, fragments of manuscripts that derive from copies of the synoptic edition prepared by Origen: the

³⁰ On the other hand, the presence of Ἀδωναῖ instead of κύριος in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 (l. 15v) at Ezek. 6:3 is not a question of variants but of different translation of the *nomen sacrum*.

³¹ Swete 1914, 70; Brock 1970, 215-216; Nautin 1977, 456-457; Metzger 1981, 38; Neuschäfer 1987, 96-98; Ulrich 1995, 556; Schaper 1998, 6-9 and 15; Law 2011, 16. Also Field 1875, whose edition of Hexaplaric fragments is still authoritative, has critical signs in his text.

³² Devreesse 1954, 113-116; Kahle 1960, 116; Jellicoe 1968, 123-124; Grafton-Williams 2006, 88, 108, 116-117.

Cairo Genizah Palimpsest, dating to the seventh century CE,³³ and the Mercati Palimpsest, dating to the ninth or tenth century CE.³⁴ Both manuscripts preserve fragments from the Psalms³⁵ synoptically arranged in columns and with a word or a short phrase (two or three words) per line. The ordering of the Biblical versions in the synopsis is similar in both manuscripts, but neither of them has what was supposedly the first column in the original Hexapla, that is, the Hebrew text of the Bible.³⁶ In both palimpsests the first preserved column has the Hebrew text transliterated into Greek letters; the second column has the translation by Aquila; the third column has the one by Symmachus, and the fourth has the LXX. While the Cairo Genizah Palimpsest has lost what might have been the last column, possibly containing Theodotion, the last column of the Mercati Palimpsest does not contain Theodotion but rather the so-called *Quinta*.³⁷ The Mercati Palimpsest is also different from the supposedly “original” Hexapla because each Hexaplaric Psalm is followed by its Septuagint version and a *catena* commenting on the Psalm. These two palimpsests are the most important extant evidence of the synoptic Hexapla and both agree on an important detail: the lack of critical signs in the LXX version of their synopsis.³⁸

³³ Cambridge, University Library Taylor-Schechter 12.182; see Taylor 1900, 1-50; on this palimpsest, see also Rahlfs 1914, 42; Nautin 1977, 308; Jenkins 1998, 90-102.

³⁴ Bibl. Ambr. O 39 sup.; see Mercati 1958; on this palimpsest, see also Rahlfs 1914, 130-131; Jellicoe 1968, 130-133; Nautin 1977, 302-305; Metzger 1981, 108-109 (no. 30).

³⁵ The Cairo Genizah Palimpsest preserves fragments of Psalm 22; the Mercati Palimpsest contains fragments from Psalms 17, 27-31, 34-35, 45, 48, and 88.

³⁶ The fact that none of the hexaplaric fragments (see also below, footnote 38) preserve traces of the first column with the original Hebrew text led Nautin 1977, 314-316, 320, to conclude that the Hebrew Bible in Hebrew characters was never present in the original Hexapla; such a view, however, has been recently dismissed by several scholars on the basis of the ancient sources discussing the Hexapla and codicological analyses of the hexaplaric manuscripts: see Ulrich 1992, 553-556; Flint 1998; Jenkins 1998; Norton 1998. In particular, Jenkins 1998 has shown that originally the Cairo Genizah Palimpsest did have the Hebrew column, which was cut when the original manuscript was re-used as a palimpsest.

³⁷ Cf. Mercati 1958, xvi, xix-xxv; Venetz 1974, 3-4. On the significance of this palimpsest, see Fernández Marcos 2000, 212-213.

³⁸ Minor hexaplaric fragments are found in two other codices: Bibl. Ambr. B 106 sup. (tenth century CE) has marginal notes added in the twelfth century CE and listing readings from the Hexapla, one of which has a synopsis including the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew and four other Greek translations, with no indication of their authorship (see Nautin 1977, 306-308); Barb. Gr. 549 (eighth century CE) quotes Hosea 11.1 in the following versions: Greek transliteration of the Hebrew, Aquila, Symmachus, LXX, and Theodotion (see Nautin 1977, 304, 308-309). None of these fragments has the Hebrew version in Hebrew characters.

Instead, Origen's critical signs are used in other important manuscripts of the Greek Bible: the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus (G), dating to the fourth or fifth century CE,³⁹ and the Codex Marchalianus (Q), dating to the sixth century CE.⁴⁰ Both codices contain Origen's signs and only one Greek text (the LXX); in other words, they are manuscripts of the Greek Bible, but they are *not* hexaplaric (i.e. synoptic) manuscripts. Origen's critical signs are also present in the Syro-Hexapla⁴¹ and in particular in the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus (eighth century CE), the most important witness for this Syriac version of the Bible, which again has only the Syriac text with critical signs and marginal annotations often listing hexaplaric readings.⁴² It is in these "monolingual" manuscripts that Origen's critical signs seem to be at home.

Indeed critical signs would have been useless in a synoptic text such as the Hexapla: a simple glance at the columns would have immediately shown the "quantitative" differences among the several versions. Rather, critical signs would have been necessary in a text where only the Greek version was written to highlight what was present in the LXX but absent in the Hebrew Bible (*obelos*), and what was present in the Hebrew Bible and in other Greek versions such as Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus, but not in the LXX (*asteriskos*).

To sum up, the manuscripts reviewed here (*P.Grenf.* 1.5, the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus, the Codex Marchalianus, the Cairo Genizah Palimpsest, the Mercati Palimpsest, and the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus) span from the second half of the third/early fourth century to the ninth/tenth century, and they can be divided into two categories according to their content:

- The "real" Hexaplaric text, a synoptic edition of the Bible organized in columns. Most probably there were six columns in this order: the Hebrew Bible, the Hebrew Bible transliterated into Greek letters, Aquila, Symmachus, the LXX, and Theodotion. For some books of the Bible, however, other translations were used (and perhaps further columns added): the so-called *Quinta*,

³⁹ On the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus (Leiden, University Library, Voss. Gr. Q. 8 + Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Gr. 17 + St. Petersburg, Public Library, Gr. 3), see Rahlfs 1914, 94-95; Swete 1914, 137-138; Jellicoe 1968, 194; Metzger 1981, 80-81 (no. 15).

⁴⁰ On the Codex Marchalianus (Vat. Gr. 2125), see Rahlfs 1914, 273; Swete 1914, 144-145; Jellicoe 1968, 201-202; Metzger 1981, 94-95 (no. 21). This codex contains only the prophets and has Hexaplaric readings and marginalia added by a second hand. Not all the books contained in the Codex Marchalianus have critical signs or readings from the Hexapla, though; for example, Baruch and Lamentations have almost none.

⁴¹ On the Syro-Hexapla, see Swete 1914, 112-114; Jellicoe 1968, 124-127; Law 2008; for more specific studies with a focus on the critical signs in the Syro-Hexapla, see Law 2011 and Gentry 2014.

⁴² Bibl. Ambr. C 313 inf.; see Ceriani 1874.

Sexta, and *Septima*.⁴³ The aim of this huge synoptic edition organized in columns with a word or a short phrase (two or three words) per line was to show different translations of the Bible and compare them with the Hebrew version. No critical signs were used because the “quantitative” differences among versions would have been immediately clear by a mere glance at the columns. Remnants of this type of text can be found in the Cairo Genizah Palimpsest and in the Mercati Palimpsest.

- A Greek text of the LXX, “enriched” with additional passages from the Hebrew Bible probably taken from one of the other Greek translations. This text included critical signs: the *obelos* for omissions in the Hebrew Bible compared with the LXX and the *asteriskos* for additions from the Hebrew Bible compared with the LXX. Remnants of this type of Greek-only Bible text can be found in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and in the Codices Colberto-Sarravianus and Marchalianus. Similarly, critical signs are preserved in Syro-Hexaplaric manuscripts, such as the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus, which are based on Greek manuscripts derived from Origen’s work.

The “Revised” Edition of the Bible

Since the manuscripts analyzed above all seem to prove that Origen’s critical signs were used in monolingual editions, the peculiarity of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 lies in its dating (second half of the third century/first half of the fourth century CE), which places it very close to Origen’s own lifetime (185-254 CE), much closer than any of the other manuscripts with critical signs. This allows us to draw some further conclusions.

Some scholars consider the Greek manuscripts carrying the LXX with critical signs (such as the Colberto-Sarravianus and the Marchalianus) as later abridgements of the original Hexapla. The Hexapla was not a reader-friendly text, and it probably invited abridgements from the very beginning, as interested readers would have had great problems in handling and consulting such a large-scale product in multiple volumes. The Colberto-Sarravianus and the Marchalianus, which also carries readings from the other Hexaplaric columns in its margins, may be later examples of such abridgments.⁴⁴ Scholars also suggest that such critically “revised” texts of the LXX had been prepared by Origen’s admirer Pamphilus (ca. 240-310 CE) and by Pamphilus’ famous pupil, Eusebius (ca. 260-340 CE).⁴⁵

⁴³ On these versions of the Bible, see Fernández Marcos 2000, 155-161.

⁴⁴ Cf. Fernández Marcos 2000, 210-211.

⁴⁵ Cf. Swete 1914, 76-78; Fernández Marcos 2000, 210.

The latter conclusion is suggested by the many *subscriptions* in LXX manuscripts which mention Pamphilus or Eusebius as the *diorthotai* of the Bible.⁴⁶ For example, Pamphilus is mentioned as the corrector in the *subscription* at the end of Esther in the Codex Sinaiticus (8, middle of the fourth century CE),⁴⁷ while both Pamphilus and Eusebius are mentioned in some Greek and Syro-Hexaplaric manuscripts as responsible for the *diorthosis*.⁴⁸ In particular, among the codices analyzed in this article, the subscription of the Codex Marchalianus at the beginning of Ezekiel is worth reporting:

Codex Marchalianus, p. 568: μετελήμφθη ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐκδόσεις Ἑξαπλῶν καὶ διορθώθη [sic]⁴⁹ ἀπὸ τῶν Ὑριγένους αὐτοῦ Τετραπλῶν, ἅτινα καὶ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ διόρθωτο [sic] καὶ ἐσχολιογράφητο· ὅθεν Εὐσέβιος ἐγὼ | τὰ σχόλια παρέθηκα· Πάμφιλος καὶ Εὐσέβιος διορθώσαντο [sic].

It was copied from the Hexapla according to the editions and was corrected from Origen's own Tetrapla, which had been corrected and annotated by his hand. I, Eusebius, have added the scholia from this source. Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ For a study on these hexaplaric subscriptions, see Mercati 1941. Cf. also Nautin 1977, 322-325, and Grafton-Williams 2006, 184-185, 340-342 (footnotes 19-23).

⁴⁷ μετελήμφθη καὶ διορθώθη [sic] πρὸς τὰ Ἑξαπλᾶ | Ὑριγένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δι'ορθώμενα· Ἀντωνῖνος | ὁμολογητῆς ἀντέλαβεν· | Πάμφιλος διόρθωσα [sic] τὸ | τεῦχος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ [It was copied and corrected with reference to the Hexapla of Origen, as corrected by his own hand. Antoninus the confessor collated; I, Pamphilus, corrected the volume in prison]. On this subscription (and another one at the end of Esdra) in the Sinaiticus, see Mercati 1941, 14-25.

⁴⁸ On the subscriptions in the Syro-Hexapla, see Mercati 1941, 2-6, 26-47; Jenkins 1991; Gentry 2014, 464-466.

⁴⁹ In these subscriptions διορθώθη / διόρθωτο / διορθώσαντο / διόρθωσα are consistently spelled without the temporal augment (unlike forms such as μετελήμφθη or ἐσχολιογράφητο, which have the syllabic augment) due to the loss of quantitative distinction between ο and ω; see Gignac 1981, 232-233.

⁵⁰ On the two subscriptions in the Codex Marchalianus (at the beginning of Isaiah, at pp. 171-172, and Ezekiel, reproduced above), see Mercati 1941, 7-13. Even though they are now placed at the openings of books rather than at their close, I use the term "subscriptions" because, as Peter Gentry kindly explained to me, these colophons were most likely written at the end of the books of Isaiah and Ezekiel in the manuscripts which the scribe of Q consulted; he however transcribed them at the beginning of the books to which they refer.

Pamphilus collected many books of Origen and founded a library where he trained many scribes, among them Eusebius, to copy Origen's works.⁵¹ The subscriptions in these later manuscripts copied from older exemplars are evidence for the work done on Origen's Bible by Pamphilus and his pupil Eusebius, who may have wanted to "summarize" their master's achievements in the Hexapla in a more compact text. In particular, codices like the Sinaiticus, whose eloquent subscription at the end of Esther says that it was corrected first from the original Hexapla by Origen and subsequently by Pamphilus, are most likely the product of Eusebius' scriptorium.⁵² Similarly, the Marchalianus with its hexaplaric readings could be a copy of an earlier text of the LXX prepared by Pamphilus and Eusebius summarizing the philological comparisons of the Hexapla. Yet *P.Grenf. 1.5* seems to be different both from the elegant Sinaiticus and from the Marchalianus. Indeed a comparison between the papyrus and the latter manuscript can yield some interesting clues about the type of text preserved by the papyrus.

P.Grenf. 1.5 and the Codex Marchalianus (Q)

The Codex Marchalianus (Q) provides the most useful parallel to *P.Grenf. 1.5*, both because it has critical signs and because it overlaps with *P.Grenf. 1.5* in preserving the same portion of text. Thus, it is possible to compare the two manuscripts synoptically (table 3, pp. 200-201).⁵³

This synopsis shows several important details. First, when *P.Grenf. 1.5* departs from the text of the LXX, it almost always shares a reading (or an addition) with Q: the passages (in underlined bold) added to the original LXX, the sentence order of Ezek. 5:12 (in underlined italics and underlined bold

⁵¹ On Pamphilus' activity, see Levine 1975, 124-125; Grafton-Williams 2006, 178-194.

⁵² According to Skeat 1999, the Sinaiticus (together with the Vaticanus) were part of an order of fifty Bibles that the emperor Constantine had made to Eusebius and his scriptorium. See also Grafton-Williams 2006, 216-221.

⁵³ The text of the Codex Marchalianus is based on the reproduction of Cozza-Luzzi 1890. The Codex Chisianus 88 (Vat. Chigiani R. VII. 45; cf. Rahlfs 1914, 278-280) also contains Ezekiel and has critical signs. However, my inspection of the relevant portion overlapping with *P.Grenf. 1.5* and Q has shown that this manuscript, which is much later (tenth century CE), preserves Origen's signs in a less accurate and precise way (at one point the *asteriskos* is even placed in the middle of a word, τὸ τέτα * πρὸν in Ezek. 5:12!). Even if it does not provide meaningful data to compare with *P.Grenf. 1.5* and Q, nonetheless the Codex Chisianus 88 shows many similarities with the latter, thus suggesting that it belongs to the same tradition (see below, footnote 66).

Table 3 (left): *P.Grenf.* 1.5, Codex Marchalianus, and LXX

<i>P.Grenf.</i> 1.5	Cod Marchalianus (Q), p. 583-584
<p><i>Recto</i></p> <p>^{5:12} <u>καὶ τ[ὸ τέτ]α[ρτόν] σου πεσοῦνται</u> <u>ἐν ῥο[μ]φαί[i]α κύ[κλ]ω σου καὶ τὸ</u> <u>τέταρτ[όν] σου εἰς πά[ντα] ἄνεμο(ν)</u> <u>σκορπ[ι]ῶ αὐτούς·</u> καὶ μάχαιραν]</p> <p>5 ἔκκεν[ώ]σω [ὀπ]ίσω α[ὐτ]ῶν. ^{5:13} καὶ συντ[ελεσθήσ]ετ[αι] ὁ θυμός μου καὶ ἡ ὀργή ἐπ' αὐτούς, <u>καὶ πα-</u> <u>ρακληθήσομαι</u> καὶ ἐπ[ι]γ[νώσ]η διότι [ἐγώ] κ(ύριος) λελάληκα ἐν ζήλῳ]</p> <p>10 μου ἐν τῷ συντελέσαι με τὴν ὀργήν μου ἐπ' αὐ[το]ύς. ^{5:14} καὶ θήσο- μαί σε εἰς ἔρημον * <u>[καὶ εἰς ὄνει-</u> <u>δος τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύκλῳ σου]</u> [καὶ τ]ῆς θυγατέρας σου [κύκλῳ σου]</p> <p>15 [ἐνώπιον] παντὸς διοδ[εύοντος]</p>	<p>583 *^{α'} ^{5:12} <u>καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου πεσοῦνται ἐν ῥομ-</u> * <u>φαίᾳ κύκλῳ σου ἢ καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου</u> <u>εἰς πάντα ἄνεμον σκορπιῶ αὐτούς·</u> καὶ μάχαιραν ἔκκενώσω ὀπίσω αὐ- τῶν. ^{5:13} καὶ συντελεσθήσεται ὁ θυμός μου. καὶ ἡ ὀργή ἐπ' αὐτούς, * <u>καὶ παρακληθήσο-</u> * <u>μαι ἢ καὶ ἐπιγνώσῃ</u> διότι ἐγώ κ(ύριος) λε- λάληκα ἐν ζήλῳ μου ἐν τῷ συντε- λέσαι με τὴν ὀργήν μου ἐπ' αὐτούς.</p> <p>10 ^{5:14} καὶ θήσομαί σε εἰς ἔρημον * <u>καὶ εἰς ὄνει-</u> *^{θ'} <u>δος ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύκλῳ σου ἢ</u> <u>καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας σου κύκλῳ σου ἐνώ-</u> πιον παντὸς διοδεύοντος,</p>
<p><i>Verso</i></p> <p>ἐγώ κ(ύριος) λελάληκα. ^{5:16} ἐν τῷ ἔξαποστεί- लाί με τὰς βολίδας μου τ[ο]ῦ λι[μ]οῦ ἐπ' αὐτούς καὶ ἔσονται εἰς [ἐ]κλ[ι]π[ει]- ψιν, *^{α'} <u>ἃ [ἀ]πο[σ]τελῶ αὐτὰ δι[α]φθ[ε]ρ[ε]</u> 5 * <u>ραι ὑμ[ᾶ]ς καὶ λειμὸν συ[ν]άξω ἐφ' ὑ-</u> <u>[μᾶς καὶ]</u> συντριψω στήριγ[μα] ἄρ- [του σου]. ^{5:17} κα[ὶ] ἐξάποστελῶ ἐπὶ σὲ λι- [μόν καὶ] θηρία πονηρά καὶ [τ]ειμω- [ρήσομ]αί σε, καὶ θάνατος καὶ αἵμα</p> <p>10 [διελεύσονται] ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ῥομφαίαν [ἐπάξω ἐπὶ] σὲ [κ]υκ[λ]ῶθεν· ἐγὼ κ(ύριος) [λελάληκα. ^{6:1} κα]ὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κ(ύριου) [πρὸς με] λέγων. ^{6:2} υἱὲ ἀν(θρώπου), στήρι- [σον τὸ πρ]ῶσπον σου [ἐπὶ] τ[ὴ]ν ὄρη]</p> <p>15 [Ι(σρα)ηλ ^{6:3} ἀκούσ]ατε λόγον Ἀδ[ω]ναῖ]</p>	<p>[[^{5:15} καὶ ἔση στενακτὴ καὶ δειλαία (ex δειλαίστη) * <u>παιδεία καὶ</u> 15 *^{θ'} <u>ἀφανισμός</u> ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύ- κλῳ σου ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαι με ἐν σοὶ κρι- *^{α'} <u>ματα ἢ ἐν ὀργῇ καὶ θυμῷ ἢ καὶ</u> ἐν ἐκδι- κήσει θυμοῦ·]]</p> <p>ἐγώ κ(ύριος) ἐλάλησα. ^{5:16} ἐν τῷ ἐξαποστείλαί με τὰς βολίδας μου τοῦ 20 * λιμοῦ * <u>τὰς πονηράς</u> ἢ ἐπ' αὐτούς * καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ἔκλειψιν, * <u>ἀποστε-</u> *^{θ'} <u>λῶ αὐτὰς διαφθεῖραι ὑμᾶς καὶ λιμὸν(ν)</u> * <u>συνάξω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς</u> ἢ καὶ συντρι- ψω στήριγμα ἄρτου σου. ^{5:17} καὶ ἐξαπο- 25 στελῶ ἐπὶ σὲ λιμόν. καὶ θηρία πονη- ρά. καὶ τιμωρήσομαί σε, καὶ θάνατος καὶ αἷμα διελεύσονται ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ῥομ- φαίαν ἐπάξω ἐπὶ σὲ κυκλόθεν. ἐγώ κ(ύριος) ἐλάλησα.</p> <p>584 ^{6:1} καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κ(ύριου) πρὸς με λέγων. ^{6:2} υἱὲ ἀν(θρώπου), στήρισον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ^{6:3} καὶ ἔρεις τὰ ὄρη Ι(σρα)ηλ, ἀκούσατε 5 λόγον Ἀδωναῖ κ(ύριου).</p>

Table 3 (right): P.Grenf. 1.5, Codex Marchalianus, and LXX

LXX (Ziegler)
<p>^{5:12} τὸ τέταρτόν σου ἐν θανάτῳ ἀναλωθήσεται· καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου ἐν λιμῷ συντελεσθήσεται ἐν μέσῳ σου· <u>καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου εἰς πάντα ἄνεμον</u> <u>διασκορπιῶ αὐτούς·</u> καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου <u>ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ πεσοῦνται κύκλῳ σου,</u> καὶ μάχαιραν ἐκκενώσω ὀπίσω αὐ- τῶν. ^{5:13} καὶ συντελεσθήσεται ὁ θυμός μου καὶ ἡ ὀργή μου ἐπ’ αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπιγνώσῃ διότι ἐγὼ κύριος λε- λάληκα ἐν ζήλῳ μου ἐν τῷ συντε- λέσαι με τὴν ὀργήν μου ἐπ’ αὐτούς. ^{5:14} καὶ θήσομαί σε εἰς ἔρημον</p> <p>καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας σου κύκλῳ σου ἐνώ- πιον παντὸς διοδεύοντος,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[[^{5:15} καὶ ἔση στενακτὴ καὶ δηλαΐστη] ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς κύ- κλῳ σου ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαί με ἐν σοὶ κρί- ματα ἐν ἐκδι- κήσει θυμοῦ μου·]]</p> <p>ἐγὼ κύριος λελάληκα. ^{5:16} ἐν τῷ ἐξαποστεῖλαί με τὰς βολίδας μου τοῦ λιμοῦ ἐπ’ αὐτούς καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ἐκλειψιν,</p> <p>καὶ συντρί- ψω στήριγμα ἄρτου σου. ^{5:17} καὶ ἐξαπο- στελῶ ἐπὶ σὲ λιμὸν καὶ θηρία πονη- ρὰ καὶ τιμωρήσομαί σε, καὶ θάνατος καὶ αἷμα διελεύσονται ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ῥομ- φαίαν ἐπάξω ἐπὶ σὲ κυκλόθεν· ἐγὼ κύριος λελάληκα. ^{6:1} καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων. ^{6:2} υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, στήρισον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραὴλ καὶ προφήτευσον ἐπ’ αὐτὰ ^{6:3} καὶ ἔρεῖς τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραὴλ, ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου.</p>

italics), and in reading λόγον Ἀδωναῖ [κυρίου] rather than λόγον κυρίου⁵⁴ in Ezek. 6:3. As for the additions from the Hebrew Bible, the Marchalianus adds some important information. In its margins, the *asteriskoi* are accompanied by a letter indicating where the reading/addition comes from: α' for Aquila, σ' for Symmachus, θ' for Theodotion. Notably, all the additions in this passage come from Theodotion except a short one in Ezek. 5:15 (which falls in lacuna in *P.Grenf.* 1.5), which is supposedly taken from Symmachus. Indeed most of the additions in Q are labeled as coming from Theodotion, while those from Aquila and Symmachus are a minority.⁵⁵ Origen is unlikely to have translated the Hebrew text himself for his "improved" edition of the LXX because he was not fully fluent in Hebrew.⁵⁶ Moreover, there was no need to prepare a new translation, since Origen had other translations at his disposal, some of which he had already fully surveyed while preparing the Hexapla: Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. In particular, the latter's translation was elegant, yet faithful to the original, so it is not surprising that Origen preferred it to supplement his version of the LXX as it was a good compromise between the very literal translation of Aquila and the one of Symmachus, which aimed at a good Greek rather than a precise rendering of the Hebrew.⁵⁷

Q also has an addition not present in the LXX or in *P.Grenf.* 1.5: * τὰς πονηράς in Ezek. 5:16 (highlighted in bold and dotted underline). Interestingly enough, the addition is marked with an *asteriskos* but is not labeled as deriving from either Theodotion, Aquila, or Symmachus. This may suggest that this is a later addition which did not belong to the original "enlarged" LXX, thus explaining why it is absent from the more ancient *P.Grenf.* 1.5.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ It is impossible to say whether the papyrus had Ἀδωναῖ [κυρίου] with κυρίου in lacuna; yet, given the similarities with Q, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 might have indeed shared Q's reading here as well, and have λόγον Ἀδωναῖ κυρίου. This reading, however, is not an addition but a different rendering of a *nomen sacrum*; for this reason, Q does not have any *asteriskos* marking it; the same should be the case in *P.Grenf.* 1.5. See Cerfaux 1931a, 44-46, on the manuscript evidence for this reading in Ezekiel.

⁵⁵ In general, together with the θ-text of Daniel, Q is the most important source for Theodotion's fragments because of its additions in the main LXX text marked with *asteriskoi*; see Fernández Marcos 2000, 145-146.

⁵⁶ For a summary of the debate about Origen's knowledge of Hebrew, see Jellicoe 1968, 104-106; Ulrich 1992, 551-553; Fernández Marcos 2000, 204-206.

⁵⁷ On the different styles of Aquila's, Symmachus', and Theodotion's translations, see Ulrich 1992, 550; Fernández Marcos 2000, 115-118, 128-133 and 146-148. Not surprisingly, given his lack of faithfulness to the original Hebrew text, additions from Symmachus are the most rarely found in Q.

⁵⁸ This addition is also present in the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus (eighth century CE), marked by an *asteriskos* and a *metobelos* (↵), but once again the manu-

Lastly, the text contained in double square brackets in Q (most of Ezek. 5:15) is the portion that is missing from *P.Grenf.* 1.5 because the lower part of the page is not preserved in the papyrus fragment. The parts highlighted in underlined bold consist of portions of the text that are present in Q but absent in the LXX and are marked in Q with *asteriskoi*. The first addition is taken from Theodotion and the second from Symmachus. Since the synopsis shows that *P.Grenf.* 1.5 follows a text similar to that of Q, we may speculate that *P.Grenf.* 1.5 followed the same text also in the lower part of the page of the *recto*, now in lacuna, and that it had the same additions as in Q. If so, there are probably five missing lines rather than four. In this case, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 would have contained twenty lines per page, which would closely align with the data collected by Turner for “square codices” with pages of ca. 14-15 x 14-15 cm.⁵⁹

Critical Signs in P.Grenf. 1.5 and Q

Although *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Q appear to preserve the same text, namely, an edition of the LXX with Origen’s critical signs, there are some crucial differences between these two manuscripts. Not only does Q present an addition to Ezek. 5:16 which is not taken from any of the Greek versions in the Hexapla (Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion) and is also not present in *P.Grenf.* 1.5; more importantly, the two manuscripts use *asteriskoi* in different ways. Both *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Q use *asteriskoi* to mark additions to the LXX from the Hebrew Bible, but Q also uses the *asteriskos* for another purpose. At lines 1-2 of page 583 two *asteriskoi* are placed in the margin of the sentence that is inverted compared with the LXX: the *asteriskoi* here mark the “inversion” of two phrases of the text at Ezek. 5:12.

The *alpha* next to the first *asteriskos* indicates that the inverted order was taken from the text of Aquila. This, however, is not the use of the *asteriskos* as established by Origen, as he himself clarifies in the passage from the *Commentary to Matthew* quoted above. While *P.Grenf.* 1.5 uses the *asteriskos* according to Origen’s system, the later Q seems to have extended its use to highlight any

script is too late to prove that the addition was present in the original edition of Origen. Moreover, the presence of the *metobelos* to signal the ends of the passages marked with *asteriskoi* or *obeloi* is suspicious; see below, pp. 211-212.

⁵⁹ 17 lines in *449 (Turner 1977, 124); 16-18 lines in *P 72 (Turner 1977, 150); 19 lines in NT Parch. 89 (Turner 1977, 160); 22 lines in OT 80 (Turner 1977, 172); 24 lines in OT 141 (Turner 1977, 177). For *P.Grenf.* 1.5, Turner 1977, 183 (*OT 207), gives only (15+)? lines per page because he counts only the surviving lines.

type of discrepancy with the LXX, inversions included.⁶⁰ As far as we know, although the Alexandrians used the *antisigma* (⊖) to mark inverted lines,⁶¹ Origen did not adopt any sign to highlight this type of discrepancy between the LXX and the other versions of the Bible. Q therefore deviates from Origen's original system of *sigla* in this aspect.

The comparison with the Hebrew Bible has also shown that line 14 of the *recto* in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 reports the phrase καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας σου κύκλω σου (in italics in Tables 1 and 2) that is missing in the Hebrew Bible; according to the system of Origen this "omission" should have been marked with an *obelos*. Following the system used in the papyrus, the *obelos* should have been placed in the margin; in this case, this point also coincides with the beginning of the passage omitted in the Hebrew Bible, which occupies the entirety of line 14. Unfortunately, the left margin of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is completely missing at line 14 of the *recto*, so the presence of an *obelos* in the papyrus cannot be confirmed. Q agrees with *P.Grenf.* 1.5 in having καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας σου κύκλω σου against the Hebrew text, but does not mark the passage with an *obelos* in its fully preserved margin. In general, Q does not display many *obeloi* (although it is very rich in *asteriskoi*), either because they were omitted at the time of writing (perhaps there was no interest in signaling what passages the Hebrew Bible did *not* have) or because they faded away, being more easily lost due to their thin line than the *asteriskoi*.⁶²

The comparison between *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Q therefore allows us to conclude that while *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Q are very similar in content, the "critical apparatus" (i.e., the *sigla*) of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 follows Origen's use of critical signs more closely, on the basis of what Origen himself tells about his method and the way he employs the *obelos* and the *asteriskos* (the only σημεῖα which he mentions). Moreover, the closeness between the dating of the papyrus and Origen's own lifetime suggests that *P.Grenf.* 1.5 may be a very interesting witness of the early work done on the Hexapla to prepare an accurate and yet easy-to-use text of

⁶⁰ The same use of *asteriskoi* to mark the transposition in Ezek. 5:12 is present in the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus and in the Codex Chisianus 88 (which has only one *asteriskos* in the middle of τὸ τέταρτον).

⁶¹ At least according to the list of Aristarchean critical signs preserved in the *Anecdota Romanum* (Cod. Rom. Bibl. Nat. Gr. 6, tenth century CE): τὸ δὲ ἀντίσιγμα καθ' ἑαυτὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνηλλαγμένους τόπους καὶ ἀπάδοντας. See West 2003, 452-453.

⁶² Cf. Ceriani 1890, 10-12. Some *obeloi* are still visible in Q, p. 405, for example at Jer. 19:13, where they are used in the margin to mark additions to the main text (thus not according to Origen's system). In general, manuscripts tend to reproduce the *obeloi* in a very erratic way: they omit them, put them in the wrong place, or even substitute them with *asteriskoi*; see Ziegler 1952, 41-44.

the Bible which included the results of Origen's comparative analysis between the Greek and Hebrew texts.

The Position of the Critical Signs in the "Revised" LXX Text

If indeed *P.Grenf.* 1.5 represents the most ancient evidence of a "revised" LXX text with critical signs,⁶³ it may be worth speculating on how critical signs were placed in the original "revised" text. The papyrus is of some help even if it is not entirely consistent in its use of critical signs (Figures 2-3).

On the *verso* the *asteriskos* is placed in the margin (l. 5) as well as part way through line 4 at the beginning of the addition at lines 4-6 (though the *asteriskos* in line 4 was added at a later time, it was probably supplemented by the same hand). Yet in a comparable instance on the *recto* (ll. 7-8) there is no *asteriskos* in the left margin, which is preserved well enough to exclude the possibility that the σμμεῖον might have been placed in a lacuna (a comparison with line 5 of the *verso*, where the *asteriskos* is visible in the margin and is placed very close to the first letter of the line, excludes this hypothesis). However, there may have been an *asteriskos* within the text in line 7, just before the beginning of the addition, which is in lacuna. Similarly, there is no *asteriskos* in the margins at lines 12-13 of the *recto*; the *asteriskos* is only preserved within the text at the

⁶³ The famous Antinoopolis papyrus (*P.Ant.* 1.8 + 3.210 = Van Haelst 0254 = Rahlfs 0928), a papyrus codex dating to the third or fourth century CE, has an *asteriskos* near the title Ι[ΑΡΑ]ΒΟΛΛΑΙ [Σ]ΑΛ[ΟΜΩ]ΝΤΟΣ between *Prov.* 9 and 10 (Fol. VI, frs. 15 and 16 *verso*, l. 13). Recently Cuppi 2012, 23-24, has suggested that this *asteriskos* has a critical purpose, namely, to indicate that the title was not found in other manuscripts (it is present in the Masoretic text but not in the LXX; cf. Roberts 1950, 17, and Zuntz 1956, 157). If this hypothesis is correct, here the *asteriskos* would indicate what is absent in the LXX and present in the Hebrew Bible, just as in Origen's system. While this possibility is very interesting, this is the only *asteriskos* present in this rather long manuscript, which thus would oddly limit the use of Origen's system to titles and not to the main text. On the other hand, ornamental *asteriskoi* near titles – even outside the ornamental frame as in this papyrus – are attested in codices, for example *P.Amh.* inv. G 202, a Homeric codex dating to the third or fourth century CE (see Turner-Parsons 1987, 13, footnote 62; Schironi 2010, 56, 172-175). Therefore we cannot exclude the possibility that the *asteriskos* in the Antinoopolis papyrus is simply ornamental. In addition, according to both Roberts 1950, 3, and Zuntz 1956, 173-184, this papyrus preserves a pre-Origenian text (*contra* Cuppi 2012, 25-26). To conclude, whether the *asteriskos* in *P.Ant.* 1.8 + 3.210 has a critical purpose or not, and whatever the origin of the Bible text preserved in this papyrus was, the main text of *P.Ant.* 1.8 + 3.210 is marked in no place by critical signs. Therefore *P.Grenf.* 1.5 still offers the most ancient (and so far unique) papyrological evidence for the use of Origenian σμμεῖα in the main text of the Greek Bible.

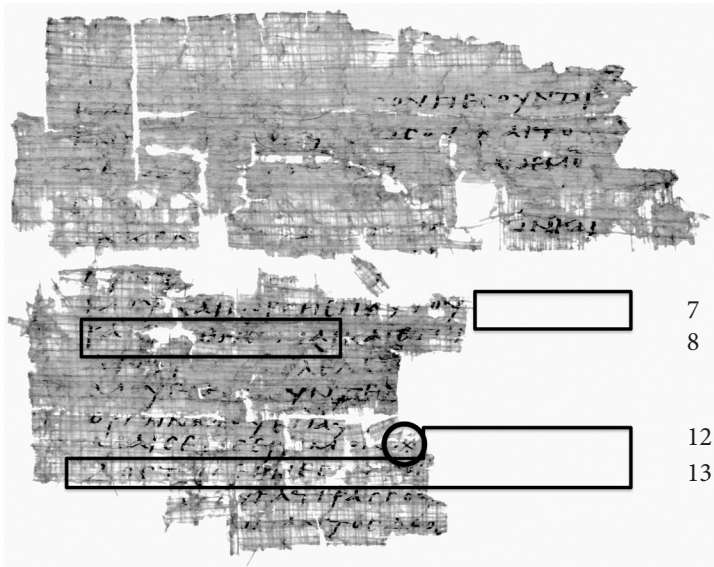


Figure 2: *P.Grenf. 1.5 recto* = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Gr. bib. d. 4 (P). Reproduced by courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. The critical sign is marked by a circle, the additions from the Hebrew Bible are enclosed in boxes.

beginning of the addition in line 12. With only three examples of additions, inconsistently marked in terms of positions of the *asteriskoi*, it is impossible to draw any firm conclusion.⁶⁴

On the contrary, the Codex Marchalianus is more self-consistent since it appears to place the *asteriskos* at the beginning of each addition from the Hebrew Bible within the text and also in the left margins for *all the lines* occupied by the addition, as in the following example:

⁶⁴This was already noted by Grenfell 1896, 10-11: "It is noticeable that in the papyrus there is no asterisk at the beginning of line 13, as there should be. Cf. *verso*, lines 4-5, where the asterisk is found not only at the beginning of the clause but at the beginning of the next line. Whether the writer of the papyrus used the diacritical mark denoting the end of the clause to which the asterisk applied is doubtful owing to the lacunae in line 13 and in the *verso*, line 6."

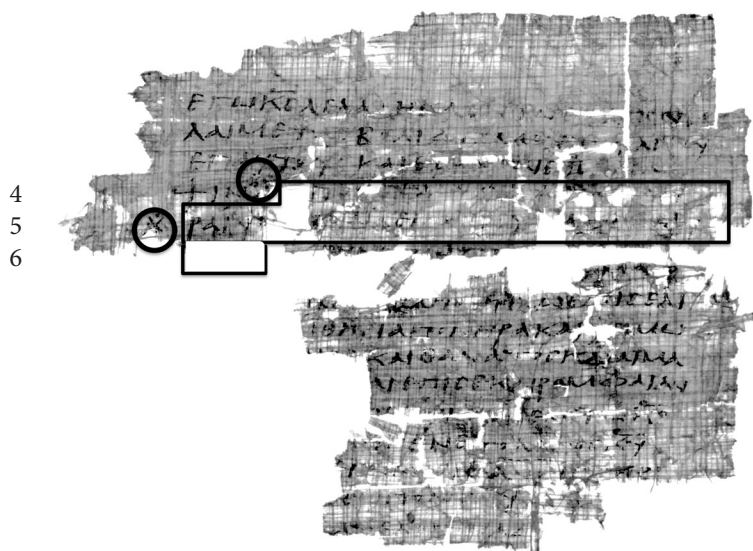


Figure 3: *P.Grenf.* 1.5 verso = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Gr. bib. d. 4 (P). Reproduced by courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. The critical signs are marked by circles, the addition from the Hebrew Bible is enclosed in a box.

Cod Marchalianus (Q), p. 583, ll. 21-24

- * καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ἔκλειψιν, * ἀποστε-
- *^θ λῶ αὐτὰς διαφθεῖραι ὑμᾶς καὶ λιμὸν
- * συνάξω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ; καὶ συντρίψω στήριγμα ἄρτου σου.

Furthermore, Q also marks the end of the addition within the text, but not with an *asteriskos*. Nor does Q employ the *metobelos* to mark the end of these additions, at least not in the shape in which this sign appears in other codices, such as the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus (where it has the shape of a colon, :) or in the Syro-Hexapla (where it has the shape of a mallet, ♣);⁶⁵ rather, Q uses

⁶⁵ In fact, Q does use a mallet-shaped sign, but it has a different orientation (♠) and a different meaning: it is used as an index for the scholia written in the margins. In the Ezekiel passage under examination, this sign occurs twice, once at line 5 of p. 583, above the τε of συντελεσθήσεται and once at line 3 of p. 584 above the ρη of τὰ ὄρη: in both cases it refers to scholia written in the top margin of the page.

a sort of semicolon which reaches below the line (; ; see for example the one at the end of line 11 in Figure 4).⁶⁶

Even Q does not apply this standard system consistently; for example, at lines 10-11 of p. 583 only one *asteriskos* is present in the margin, at line 11, while there is no sign in the margin of line 10, where the addition begins; this could have been due to a simple error of the copyist or it may be because the κ of καί at the beginning of line 10 is larger than the other letters and extends into the left margin to mark the incipit of Ezek. 5:14, leaving no space to add the critical sign in alignment with the others (see figure 4). In this case, then, the scribe's habit of marking the initial has prevailed over the need to respect the system of the marginal *sigla*. However, at lines 14-15 of p. 583 the insertion in Ezek. 5:15 is marked in the margin by an *asteriskos* beside line 15 only, when one would also expect to find an *asteriskos* in the margin of line 14 (along with the one part way through the line at the beginning of the addition, which is indeed there). Despite these inconsistencies, the system in Q works quite well when properly respected because the *asteriskos* in the margin makes it very easy for the reader to notice additions, which are also marked within the text at the beginning (with an *asteriskos*) and at the end (with the semicolon-shaped sign, ;).

Given the poor state of preservation of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and its inconsistency in the placement of the *sigla*, no firm conclusions can be reached concerning the position of critical signs in the papyrus or in the original "enlarged" LXX: it cannot be determined for certain whether they were placed only in the left margin, or whether they were also added within the text at the beginning and/or at the end of the passages missing or added from the Hebrew Bible. Similarly, it is impossible to decide whether or not the signs in the margin were repeated for all the lines involved in the addition/omission or only for the lines in between the beginning- and the end-lines. A comparison with Q would suggest that the sign was present in the margin beside all the involved lines; however, in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 the *asteriskos* is missing at the beginning of the addition in the

⁶⁶ In fact, Ceriani 1890, 10, calls it "*metobelos*." The same end-sign occurs in the Codex Chisianus 88, which also follows Q in terms of readings and additions from the Hebrew Bible, and therefore it probably depends on Q. However, aside from a rather inaccurate use of critical signs (see footnote 53 above), the Chigi manuscript, which has two columns per page, does not have *asteriskoi* in the margin but only within the text. This already shows that the Codex Chisianus 88 provides an impoverished version of the original layout where critical signs were placed in the margins to allow the reader to see them at a glance, following the Alexandrian system. Thus, while this codex is a less helpful comparandum for *P.Grenf.* 1.5 than Q, it does provide telling evidence of how the original Origenian system became corrupted with time.

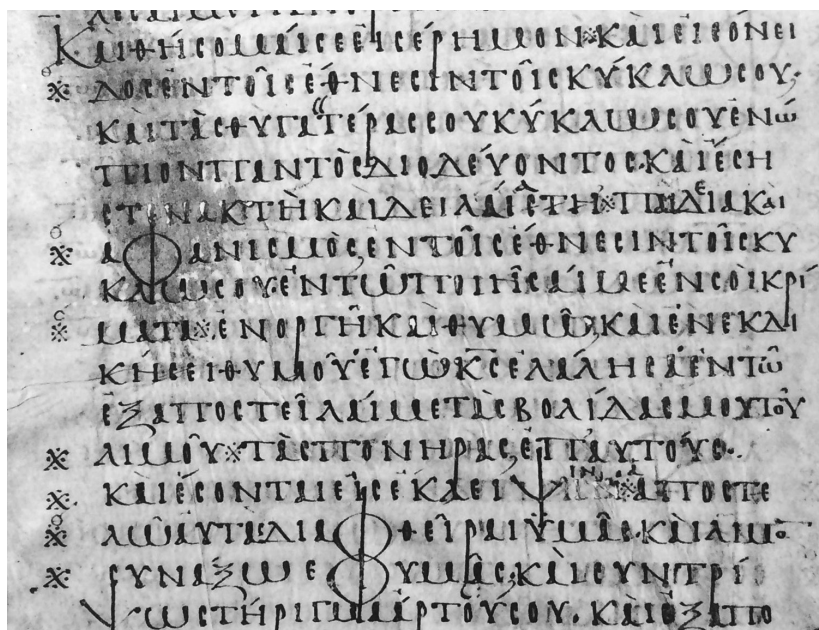


Figure 4: Codex Marchalianus, p. 583, lines 10-24. Digital reproduction of Cozza-Luzi 1890.

margin of lines 7 and 12 in the *recto* and in line 4 of the *verso*, even though the margin is well-preserved in these places. We could then hypothesize that only lines that did not contain the beginning/end of the addition/omission were marked by signs in the margin. Such a reconstruction, however, becomes problematic in the case of an omission/addition shorter than a line, because in this instance the *obeloi/asteriskoi* would have been placed only within the text, and thus would have been very difficult for a reader to detect.

The inconsistent placement of the signs in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is not surprising. Indeed, such inconsistencies are common also in Homeric papyri with critical signs, such as *P.Hawara* (P.Bodl. Libr. Ms.Gr.class. a.1(P), second century CE), which sometimes uses signs and sometimes omits them where they should be, as shown by a comparison with the Codex Venetus A (Marcianus Graecus Z. 454, tenth century CE), which preserves the critical signs used by Aristarchus on the *Iliad* more accurately.⁶⁷ Yet, despite their inconsistencies, when combined with the Venetus A these Homeric papyri with some Aristarchean signs provide valuable evidence to reconstruct how the ancient Alexandrian system

⁶⁷ See table in Schironi 2012, 98.

worked. Similarly, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and the Codex Marchalianus together help to determine how Origen's system could work "at its best."

First of all, an important distinction must be made between the Alexandrian system and Origen's system. In the Alexandrian system the signs were placed only in the left margin of a line. This was sufficient because in Homeric poetry the main unit (the hexameter) is easily recognizable. When an *obelos* was placed next to a line, it meant that the entire verse had to be athetized – the Alexandrians always athetized entire lines, not portions of them. Similarly, the *asteriskos* indicated lines repeated elsewhere in the poem in their entirety, not a repeated formula within a line. The only exceptions to this rule were the two signs introduced by Aristarchus, the *diple* (which was used to highlight any point of interest in the line) and the *diple periestigmene* (which was used to signal a point of disagreement with Zenodotus' editorial choices in the line). These two signs were still placed next to a line but could refer to only a single word in that line; however, the meaning and the point of reference of those signs were clearly explained in the commentary, which Aristarchus produced in connection with his edition of the Homeric text. Thus, Aristarchus' system combining edition and commentary was unambiguous, and critical signs could still be placed only in the margins of the text.⁶⁸ Origen had to deal with a different situation: his signs were used in an edition with no commentary and for a prose text, which did not have easily recognizable units as hexametric poetry did. Hence he needed a better way to mark the portions of the text involved in the omission/addition, as marking only the margins in a page was not sufficient. In this regard it must also be noted that Origen nowhere says that he ever used the *metobelos* or any other sign except the *obelos* and the *asteriskos*. Thus, Origen's own testimony suggests that if he ever wanted to mark the end of the omission/addition within the text, he must have used *obeloi* and *asteriskoi* only. In this scenario, the most reader-friendly hypothesis is that the signs were originally organized as follows:

- *Obelos/asteriskos* within the text at the beginning of the omission/addition.
- *Obelos/asteriskos* in the margin next to *all* the lines containing the omission/addition.
- *Obelos/asteriskos* within the text at the end of the omission/addition.

If this is correct we may proceed – *exempli gratia* – to the reconstruction of the "original" text of the papyrus in *scriptio continua*, without reading aids

⁶⁸ Cf. Schironi 2012, 103–104.

such as accents and breathings and with the critical signs as Origen might have wanted them:

<i>Recto</i>	<i>Verso</i>
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΤΑΡΤΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΠΕΣΟΥΝΤΑΙ	ΕΓΩ ΚΣΛΕΛΑΛΗΚΑ· ΕΝΤΩ ΕΞΑΠΟΣΤΕΙ
ΕΝ ΡΟΜΦΑΙ ΚΥΚΛΩ ΣΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ	ΛΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΣ ΒΟΛΙΔΑΣ ΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΙΜΟΥ
ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΔΑΝΕΜΟ(Ν)	ΕΠΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΣΚΑΙ ΕΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙ
ΣΚΟΡΠΙΩ ΔΥΤΟΥ ΚΣΚΑΙ ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΝ	* ΨΙΝ* ΔΑΠΟΣΤΕΛΩ ΔΥΤΑΔΙΑΦΘΕΙ
ΕΚΚΕΝΩ ΣΩΟΠΙΣ ΔΥΤΩΝ· ΚΑΙ	* ΡΑΙ ΥΜΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΜΟΝ ΣΥΝΑΞΩ ΕΦΥ
ΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΣΘΗ ΣΕΤΑΙΟ ΘΥΜΟΣ	* ΜΑΣ* ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΤΡΙΨΘΣΤΗΡΙΓΜΑΔΡ
* ΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ Η ΟΡΓΗ ΕΠΑΥΤΟΥΣ* ΚΑΙ ΠΑ	ΤΟΥ ΣΟΥ· ΚΑΙ ΕΞΑΠΟΣΤΕΛΩ ΕΠΙΣΕΛΙ
* ΠΑΚΑΝΘΟΣ ΜΑΙ* ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΓΝΩΣΗ	ΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΗΡΙΑ ΠΟΝΗΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΙΜΩ
ΔΙΟΤΙ ΕΓΩ ΚΣΛΕΛΑΛΗΚΑ ΕΝ ΖΗΛΩ	ΡΗ ΣΟΜΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΜΑ
ΜΟΥ ΕΝΤΩ ΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΣΑΙ ΜΕΤΗΝ	ΔΙΕΛΕΥΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΠΙΣΕΚΑΙ ΡΟΜΦΑΙΑΝ
ΟΡΓΗΝ ΜΟΥ ΕΠΑΥΤΟΥΣ· ΚΑΙ ΘΗΣΟ	ΕΠΑΞΩ ΕΠΙΣΕΚΥΚΛΟΘΕΝ· ΕΓΩ ΚΣ
* ΜΑΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΡΗΜΟΝ* ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΟΝΕΙ	ΛΕΛΑΛΗΚΑ· ΚΑΙ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΥ
* ΔΟΣΤΟΙΣ ΕΘΝΕΣΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΥΚΛΩ ΣΟΥ*	ΠΡΟΣ ΜΕΛΕΓΩΝ· ΥΙΕ ΔΝΟΥΣ ΤΗΡΙ
— ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑΣ ΣΟΥ ΚΥΚΛΩ ΣΟΥ —	ΣΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΑ ΟΡΗ
ΕΝΩ ΠΙΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΟΥ ΔΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ	ΤΗ ΛΑΚΟΥΣΑ ΤΕ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΔΔΩΝΑΪ

While this is a speculative reconstruction, it is useful to visualize how an ancient edition of the “enlarged and revised” LXX could have looked. With this system of signs the information is conveyed in the clearest and most economical form. The critical signs within the text precisely mark the beginning and the end of each omission/addition. On the other hand, the same critical signs in the margin immediately alert the reader that there is a discrepancy between the LXX and the Hebrew Bible without the need to read the Greek text with attention in order to find critical signs in it. From this perspective, the signs in the margin conform to the “classical” use of critical signs while those within the text might have been a Christian innovation, as *sigla* within a text are never attested in pagan texts.⁶⁹

While this is the best way to make this system function, it might not be the original one, at least as far as the end of the omission/addition is concerned. *P.Grenf.* 1.5 does not have a critical sign in the only place in which the papyrus is preserved at the end of an addition (l. 8r). On the other hand, the evidence from later manuscripts with critical signs is quite revealing, as the sign to mark

⁶⁹ Swete 1914, 78, who held the opposite view, that the critical signs were present in the synoptic Hexapla, claimed that hexaplaric signs would lose their meaning if not placed in a text which also had the Hebrew text. However, the manuscript evidence of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 as well as the comparison with the practice of Zenodotus and Aristophanes of Byzantium, whose *sigla* were used without any other supporting text, confirm the reconstruction I propose, even if perhaps it is less obvious at first sight.

the omissions/additions varies tremendously: it looks like a colon (:) in the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus, like a mallet (⌵) in the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus and like a semicolon (;) in the Codex Marchalianus and in the Codex Chisianus 88. Such a lack of consistency in the shape suggests that this sign was not “traditional” like the *asteriskos* and the *obelos*, which generally have a standard shape in these manuscripts.

The fact that later manuscripts use a different sign to mark the end of omissions/additions may thus suggest that an end-marker was not part of Origen’s system. If so, Origen’s use of the Alexandrian σμμεῖα was to a certain degree ambiguous, as it had an *obelos/asteriskos* within the text at the beginning of the omission/addition and in the margins of the lines containing the omission/addition, but nothing to mark the end of the passage within the text. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by *P.Grenf.* 1.5 in the only instance where we can check the end of an addition (l. 8r). If indeed Origen did not mark the end of the omissions/additions, later scribes might have “invented” one additional sign (i.e. the so-called *metobelos*) to solve this ambiguity and make the system more functional; this end-marking sign would have taken different shapes when used by different scribes, which is exactly what we find in the codices mentioned above.

To conclude, the different shapes of the *metobelos*, the fact that it was not an Alexandrian sign as well as the fact that Origen never mentions it suggest that the use of this critical sign to mark the end of additions and omissions was never part of Origen’s system. Hence, when such a marker appears in later manuscripts, it is an innovation. From this perspective, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is indeed the only manuscript which has only Origenian signs and applies them according to Origen’s system, even if the tiny scrap on papyrus does not do so consistently and provides very limited evidence for this system.

P.Grenf. 1.5 and Origen’s Work on the Bible

P.Grenf. 1.5 provides a Greek-only text consisting of the LXX with some additions marked with *asteriskoi* according to Origen’s system. A comparison with the Hebrew text has confirmed that these additions are indeed taken from the Hebrew Bible, mostly from the translation of Theodotion, if we follow the indication of the Codex Marchalianus. My suggestion is that *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is the oldest surviving fragment of such a “critical” edition of the LXX enriched with Origen’s signs, *asteriskoi* marking additions from the Hebrew Bible and *obeloi* marking omissions in the Hebrew Bible compared with the LXX. The most compelling reason for considering *P.Grenf.* 1.5 our earliest extant copy of this Greek-only edition of the Bible is the dating of the papyrus, which spans from the latter half of the third century CE to the early fourth century CE, so

very close to Origen's own lifetime (185-254 CE). In addition, I would like to propose that such a Greek-only text of the LXX, revised and edited with critical signs, was not conceived and prepared only by Origen's successors Pamphilus and Eusebius, but was the product of his own enterprise.⁷⁰ In fact, Jerome (ca. 345-420 CE) himself, who knew Origen's work well and most likely visited the library of Caesarea to see the original Hexapla in 385-386 CE,⁷¹ clearly states that Origen prepared such an edition of the LXX:

Jerome, *Praef. in Pentateuch*, PL 28, 179A: *Quod ut auderem, Origenis me studium provocavit, qui editioni antiquae translationem Theodotionis miscuit, asterisco *, et obelo ÷, id est, stella et veru opus omne distinguens: dum aut illucescere facit quae minus ante fuerant, aut superflua quaeque jugulat et confodit.*

To venture on such an enterprise, I was inspired by the zeal of Origen, who mixed Theodotion's translation with the ancient edition [i.e., the LXX], marking the entire work with an *asteriskos* (*) and an *obelos* (÷) – that is, a little star and a spit – as he highlights [the passages] which were missing [in the LXX] or cuts and pierces through those passages which were redundant [in the LXX].

Jerome, *Praef. in Paral.*, PL 28, 1393A: *Et certe Origenes non solum exemplaria composuit quatuor editionum ... sed, quod majoris audaciae est, in editione Septuaginta Theodotionis editionem miscuit, asteriscis designans quae minus fuerant, et virgulis quae ex superfluo videbantur apposita.*

⁷⁰ As already suggested in passing by Clements 2000, 322, and Grafton-Williams 2006, 127, 187-188, who also refer to Ruth Clements' Harvard Th.D. dissertation (Clements 1997, which I was unable to consult).

⁷¹ Jerome states that he corrected his own Hexaplaric text of the Bible on the originals in the library of Caesarea in *Comm. Titum* 3.9 (PL 26, 595B); see also Jerome's *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, ed. G. Morin, in *Anecdota Maredsolana*, Volume 3.1, Oxford 1895, p. 5: *nam ἐξαπλοῦς Origenis in Caesariensi bibliotheca relegens*. While Nautin 1977, 328-331, dismisses Jerome's claim, Swete 1914, 74-75, and more recently Norton 1998, 107-109, and Williams 2006, 149-155, trust Jerome's direct knowledge of Origen's work, as well as his visit at the library of Caesarea.

And certainly Origen did not only compose copies of four editions⁷² ... but – what is proof of an even greater boldness – mixed the edition of Theodotion with the one of the LXX, marking with *asteriskoi* the passages which were missing [in the LXX], and with a sign of spuriousness [i.e., the *obelos*] the passages which seemed to have been added superfluously.

According to Jerome, this Greek text with signs was not a later abridgement of the Hexapla, but rather the final product stemming from it, which aimed at “summarizing” the result of the latter synoptic work.⁷³ Jerome also says that the additions from the Hebrew Bible were taken from Theodotion. This may be a generalization by Jerome, since Symmachus and Aquila might also have been used to add portions missing in the LXX, as suggested by the critical signs and notes in the Codex Marchalianus. Yet even in this manuscript the vast majority of the additions come from Theodotion, thus explaining Jerome’s generalization.

It was most likely Origen himself who devised this text, probably after compiling the Hexapla. The easy identification of the quantitative differences between the Hebrew and the Greek Bible was indeed the main goal of Origen’s work, as he himself explains:

Ep. Afric., PG 11, 60B: Ἀσκοῦμεν δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τὰς παρ’ ἐκείνοις, ἵνα, πρὸς Ἰουδαίους διαλεγόμενοι, μὴ προφέρωμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὴ κείμενα ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις αὐτῶν, καὶ ἵνα συγχρησώμεθα τοῖς φερομένοις παρ’ ἐκείνοις· εἰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐ κεῖται βιβλίοις· τοιαύτης γὰρ οὐσης ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι

⁷² These “copies of four editions” may refer to the so-called Tetrapla, collecting the LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. According to Clements 1997, 97-100 (as referred to by Grafton-Williams 2006, 113) and Clements 2000, this synoptic copy of the Greek Bible was the first version of the Hexapla – it was prepared at Alexandria in order to “heal” the text of the LXX, which Origen considered authoritative; Origen developed an interest in the Hebrew Bible only when he moved to Caesarea in ca. 233 CE and encountered the Jewish community there; it was in Caesarea that he added the two additional columns with the Hebrew and the Hebrew transliterated into Greek letters.

⁷³ According to Nautin 1977, 456-457, and Schaper 1998, 8-9, who claim that critical signs were placed in the fifth column of the Hexapla and that there was no separate LXX edition, Jerome is referring here to the synoptic Hexapla. Yet Jerome seems to distinguish clearly between two different enterprises by Origen; first, a collection of more than one edition of the Bible (*exemplaria ... quattuor editionum*), and then a single edition of the LXX mixed with the one of Theodotion (*in editione Septuaginta Theodotionis editionem miscuit*) with the addition of critical signs. In the first passage quoted, in fact, Origen speaks of this latter enterprise only, without mentioning any synopsis.

παρασκευῆς, οὐ καταφρονήσουσιν, οὐδ' ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, γελάσονται τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων πιστεύοντας, ὡς τ' ἀληθῆ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγεγραμμένα ἀγνοοῦντας.

We try not to ignore what is in their versions [of the Bible] in order that when arguing with the Jews we do not quote to them passages that are not present in their copies, and in order that we can avail ourselves of passages that their editions carry, even if these passages are not present in our own texts [of the Bible]. If this is our practice in controversies with them, they will not despise us nor, as is their habit, will they laugh at those among the Gentiles who have faith, because – they think – they ignore the truths which are preserved in their text.⁷⁴

Signs were very useful in a Greek-only edition like the one preserved in the fragment of *P.Grenf.* 1.5, because Christians could use such “revised” LXX editions in debates with the Jews knowing exactly what the Hebrew text included. Such a need was particularly strong in third-century Caesarea, a multicultural city with large communities of Christians and Jews, where doctrinal debates between these two groups were routine.⁷⁵ Origen’s critical signs did not have any exegetical goal – they were not linked to a commentary where each marked lemma would have received an explanation, as in the case of Aristarchus’ critical signs. In fact, in his exegetical treatises on the Bible Origen uses his work on different *ekdoseis* of the Bible to discuss or to select the readings which better suit his own exegesis, but he never mentions the presence of critical signs in the edition of reference as a starting point for an explanation. The reason for this is that Origen’s exegetical works were not primarily focused on a comparative approach to the text, but rather had a theological aim and were an independent product of research, not necessarily conceived to be used with the Hexapla or any specific edition of the LXX. In this scenario, the Hexapla seems to be more of a preparatory work, similar to a collation of manuscripts, created in order to put together a “critical edition” with apologetic aims to be used in debates with the Jews to defend the new Christian faith. This was Origen’s final goal and the Hexapla was the necessary preliminary to such a useful tool to defend Christian doctrines.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ On this passage, see Sgherri 1977, 16-17.

⁷⁵ Cf. Levine 1975, 80-84.

⁷⁶ It is clear that this “critical” edition was mostly concerned with additions and omissions in reference of the Hebrew version, not with different readings in passages present in both the Greek and Hebrew texts. *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is evidence of this since, although it follows the Hebrew text in the additions and sentence order rather than the LXX, it

Conclusions

The “revised” edition of the LXX with *asteriskoi* and *obeloi* marking additions or omissions in the Hebrew Bible was a by-product or, more accurately, the final outcome of the Hexapla. It aimed at summarizing the results of the synoptic and complex Hexapla into a much more compact and easy-to-use edition. The Hexapla was a huge, multi-volume enterprise, which according to some scholars’ reconstruction occupied almost forty codices of 800 pages each.⁷⁷ Such a text was not only impossible to use outside a library, but also very difficult to consult and to copy.⁷⁸ Hence it could not fulfill Origen’s aim of giving the Christians a tool to argue against the Jews – Origen could never have thought that the gigantic synoptic edition could serve that goal. More likely, he might have considered the preparation of a Greek text his ultimate goal. This is not only suggested by his own words in the *Letter to Africanus* quoted above (PG 11, 60B) but also by Jerome, who takes for granted that this “revised” LXX was Origen’s work. Indeed Origen could have had time to prepare such a text, since the Hexapla was finished in ca. 245 CE,⁷⁹ at which time he still had nine years of his life left for additional projects. During those years he certainly devoted himself to other activities (between 245 and 250 he composed the *Contra Celsum*, the *Commentary to Matthew*, and other exegetical works, for example); even so, putting together this “revised” LXX would not have been very demanding once the synoptic Hexapla was complete.

does not register the different reading in the Hebrew version at Ezek. 5:12, as noted above at p. 194. Brock 1970 already suggested that neither the Hexapla nor its fifth column containing the LXX (where he thought critical signs were placed) were “real” critical editions in the modern sense of the term, but rather had an apologetic aim, to help Christians in their controversies with the Jews. See also Neuschäfer 1987, 100–103, and Clements 2000, 324–325, who both also rightly stress that Origen’s other goal was to “heal” the LXX text, not to recover the “original” text of the Bible (as maintained by Nautin 1977, 351–353, who compares Origen to the Alexandrians in their effort to recover the “original” text of Homer). Because his focus was the LXX, Origen did not need to notice variants present in the Hebrew text or even to correct the LXX on the basis of the Hebrew Bible (cf. Neuschäfer 1987, 99–100, 103).

⁷⁷ According to Grafton-Williams 2006, 105. Swete 1914, 74, instead calculated a total of “only” ca. 6,500 pages (without counting the *Quinta* and *Sexta*).

⁷⁸ Of course, the Cairo Genizah and the Mercati palimpsests prove that at least some copies of the Hexapla were still made in the seventh or even in the tenth century CE. Even so, these copies were probably limited to selected books of the Bible.

⁷⁹ Cf. Fernández Marcos 2000, 209, according to whom the bulk of the Hexapla must have been put together between 235 and 245, since Hexaplaric quotations occur in the *Letter to Africanus*, dated to ca. 240 CE, and in the *Contra Celsum*, possibly composed in 249 CE.

How does *P.Grenf.* 1.5 fit into this scenario? First of all, in this article I have shown that in comparison with other early LXX manuscripts that preserve critical signs (the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus, the Codex Marchalianus), the papyrus seems to preserve a system of critical signs closest to that of Origen as applied to a “revised” edition of the LXX.⁸⁰ Second, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is the oldest available fragment of such a “critical” edition, as the other early manuscripts date to the fourth/fifth century CE (Codex Colberto-Sarravianus) or to the sixth century CE (Codex Marchalianus).⁸¹ As already anticipated at the beginning of the article, the dating of the papyrus is far from secure since it is based only on paleographical comparisons. Nonetheless, the possible dating spans from ca. 250 to 350 CE. This means that, even if we choose the latest dating, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 was still written within 100 years after Origen’s death, which occurred in 254 CE. If we accept the later dating, then the papyrus fits with the activity of Pamphilus (ca. 240-310 CE) and Eusebius (ca. 260-340 CE), confirming what we know from the subscriptions of other Bible manuscripts: that Pamphilus and Eusebius prepared these “revised” editions of the LXX on the basis of Origen’s Hexapla. On the other hand, a comparison with other securely dated papyri does not exclude an earlier dating, to the second half of the third century. If so, such a “revised” LXX text, of which *P.Grenf.* 1.5 would be one copy, could also have been produced by Origen himself.

Given the uncertainties of paleographical dating, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 cannot conclusively prove that such an edition goes back to Origen himself, as its dating is also compatible with Pamphilus’ and Eusebius’ activity. Yet there is a further detail that merits attention. Just before the passage quoted above from the *Praefatio in librum Paralipomenon* (PL 28, 1393A) Jerome reports that different regions had different preferred texts of the Bible:

Jerome, *Praef. in Paral.*, PL 28, 1392A: *Alexandria et Aegyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem; Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat; mediae inter has provinciae Palestinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilius vulgaverunt.*

⁸⁰ While I have focused my attention on the Marchalianus because it can be directly compared with *P.Grenf.* 1.5, the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus also has non-Origenian σημεία, such as *metobeloi* and oddly-shaped *obeloi*; see Swete 1914, 138, and my discussion above pp. 211-212.

⁸¹ The other manuscripts with critical signs are even later, since the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus dates to the eighth century CE and the Codex Chisianus 88 to the tenth century CE. In addition, both these manuscripts have non-Origenian signs, as discussed above at p. 212. On the relationship between the Syro-Hexapla and the Chigi manuscript 88, see Jenkins 1991, 262-264.

In their Septuagint, Alexandria and Egypt praise Hesychius as their authority; [the region from] Constantinople to Antioch approves the copies of Lucian the martyr; the provinces in the middle of these [regions] read the codices from Palestine, elaborated by Origen and circulated by Eusebius and Pamphilus.

In addition to restating that the “critical” edition of the LXX was prepared by Origen and that Pamphilus and Eusebius contributed to its circulation, Jerome also claims that Origen’s “revised” version of the LXX was circulating in Palestine. However, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 comes from Egypt,⁸² and was written between the second half of the third century and the first half of the fourth century CE. This proves that this “revised” edition circulated very early on, and that it reached beyond Palestine. Of course, the fragment in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 might have come from a book belonging to someone from Palestine who traveled or moved to Egypt – thus it does not indicate that the “revised” LXX became the standard Bible text outside Palestine. However, the presence of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 in Egypt demonstrates that an “enlarged” version of the LXX with critical signs (the *obelos* and the *asteriskos*) was prepared quite early on. In fact, the compilation of such an edition must have occurred early enough for it to be copied into the book to which *P.Grenf.* 1.5 once belonged; additionally, this book had to be sold to its original owner, who then traveled or relocated to Egypt. This pushes the composition of this “revised” LXX to an earlier date, especially if the papyrus changed hands (through multiple sales or inheritance) after it was finished. This might suggest that the “revised” LXX had already been prepared at the end or even the middle of the third century CE at Caesarea and that such an edition was probably envisaged if not actually produced by Origen himself, as Jerome claims.

The presence of this papyrus containing Origen’s “enlarged” LXX in Egypt at the end of the third or in the first half of the fourth century CE also allows for some final, additional suggestions. As has already been mentioned, some manuscripts of the Syro-Hexapla such as the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus are very rich in critical signs, some of which are Origenian. The Syro-Hexapla was put together in Egypt by Paul of Tella, at Enaton near Alexandria, around 613-617 CE.⁸³ Scholars speculate about which Greek text was used by Paul for his translation, as the Hexapla did not circulate beyond Caesarea.

⁸² Even though Grenfell labeled *P.Grenf.* 1.5 as “from Fayoum,” this means only that the papyrus was bought there. The “Grenfell papyri” were in fact acquired on the market, not in excavations; therefore, they could in theory come from anywhere in Egypt. I thank Nick Gonis for this information.

⁸³ Cf. Law 2011, 18-22.

P.Grenf. 1.5, the most ancient witness of a “monolingual” LXX text derived from the Hexapla (albeit a very scanty one), suggests that such a “critical” edition, circulated by Pamphilus and Eusebius, reached beyond Caesarea and even to Egypt quite early on. Such a text was certainly among those used by Paul for his Syro-Hexapla, as the Origenian critical signs and the final subscriptions in the Syro-Hexaplaric text prove.⁸⁴

To conclude, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is a unique testimony for Origen’s critical signs as applied to the Old Testament because compared to the other few manuscripts with critical signs it is the oldest and the most faithful to Origen’s system on the basis of what Origen himself says about his use of the Alexandrian *σμμεῖα*. This tiny scrap of papyrus may not prove that the “revised” LXX text was indeed prepared by Origen, but does not disprove this possibility either – in fact, Origen certainly envisaged such a “revised” LXX text as a result of his Hexapla for apologetic purposes; in addition, his critical signs work much better in a Greek-only text than in a huge synoptic edition. The dating of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is compatible with the possibility that this “revised” LXX text was prepared during the latter part of Origen’s life, even if the wider circulation of such a LXX text is most likely due to Pamphilus and Eusebius.⁸⁵ On the other hand, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 does provide evidence to support a circumstance which has until now been only a supposition:⁸⁶ that this “revised” LXX text (circulated through the scriptorium of Pamphilus and Eusebius) traveled beyond Caesarea early enough (in the early fourth century CE) to be used as one of the basis for the Syro-Hexapla, composed in Egypt in 613-617 CE.

⁸⁴ The Syro-Hexapla, however, is not a simple translation of this “enlarged” Greek LXX text, but incorporates other versions of the Bible (e.g. Lucian) as well. Cf. Jenkins 1991, 263, and especially Law 2008 (with a survey of the main studies on the topic).

⁸⁵ In fact, Nautin 1977, 354, who thought that the fifth column of the Hexapla had critical signs and was copied and circulated as a separate text only by Pamphilus and Eusebius, did not exclude the possibility that Origen himself copied the fifth column on a separate roll for his own use. However, I suggest that the critical signs, which were useless in a synopsis, were added at the moment of compiling this Greek-only text and thus after the Hexapla was finished. This implies that a critical edition of the LXX had already been envisaged by Origen himself as a stand-alone project, since he speaks of the *σμμεῖα* being used to mark quantitative differences between the LXX and the Hebrew Bible. Origen might have initiated this project, which was then carried out at a larger scale by Pamphilus and Eusebius.

⁸⁶ Cf. Law 2011, 18-19: “But how did this bishop [i.e. Paul of Tella] some four centuries after the Hexapla’s completion in Caesarea have access to the giant tomes in Egypt? It is possible that the Egyptian monastery within which Paul worked had in its possession a copy of the LXX text of Eusebius and Pamphilus, complete with the Hexaplaric *sigla*.” Cf. also Jellicoe 1968, 126.

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Evaluating Scribal Freedom and Fidelity: Number-Writing Techniques in Codex Washingtonianus (W 032)

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Abstract

The mysterious relationship of Codex Washingtonianus (W 032) to its parent text(s) has been a matter of some debate among textual critics, primarily because of the manuscript's startling block mixture of "text-types." This study brings to light an overlooked scribal feature that suggests W is a strict copy of its exemplar(s) rather than the customized text of a scrupulous redactor. Specifically, the scribe's method of writing numerals, whether by numerical symbol or long-hand word, conspicuously changes at each point where there is a shift in textual affinity – a pattern that could hardly have been introduced independently by the scribe and almost certainly reflects the contents of the source-texts.

1. Introduction

The recent collection of essays titled *The Freer Biblical Manuscripts: Fresh Studies of an American Treasure Trove* marks a renewal of interest in Codex Washingtonianus (W 032) – a fascinating late fourth-/fifth-century codex of the canonical Gospels filled with many intriguing riddles.¹ One such riddle concerns the puzzling relationship of W to its exemplar(s). Specifically, Codex W exhibits a curiously diverse assortment of text-types in block mixture, including Alexandrian (B-text), Western (D-text), Byzantine (A-text), and – ac-

¹ L.W. Hurtado (ed.), *The Freer Biblical Manuscripts: Fresh Studies of an American Treasure Trove* (Atlanta 2006). Note the absence of other treatments of W in J.K. Elliott, *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts* (2nd ed.: Cambridge 2000) 63-65; see also Supplements I-III by the same author, *NovT* 46 (2004) 376-400; *NovT* 49 (2007) 370-401; *NovT* 52 (2012) 272-297, respectively.

cording to some – Caesarean (C-text) portions.² This dramatic textual variety raises the important question of how Codex W was created. For instance, does this patchwork composition suggest that the scribe used several exemplars and by selecting desired wording crafted a new, custom text? Or, rather, is W a strict copy of the only exemplar(s) that were available? Evaluating the work of a scribe whose source-texts are no longer extant is a notoriously difficult task,³ and it is therefore not surprising that scholars disagree about the precise relationship of W to its parent text(s).

The purpose of this study is to bring to light one key piece of evidence that suggests the Freer Gospels Codex reflects the work of a scribe who intended to reproduce closely the available exemplar text(s) rather than one who intended to create a new literary product. That piece of evidence is the scribal use (and nonuse) of alphabetic numeral abbreviations within the body text of W. As it will be shown, the scribe's unique employment of numerical abbreviations in W falls into a remarkable pattern that coincides precisely with the aforementioned changes in text-type throughout the codex; that is, each block of text contains not only a unique textual affinity, but also a unique scribal technique of number-writing. It will be shown that such changes could hardly have been introduced independently by the scribe of W, and they therefore almost certainly reflect the contents of the exemplar text(s).⁴

² I take the terminology of A-text, B-text, etc., from E.J. Epp, "Textual Clusters: Their Past and Future in New Testament Textual Criticism," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. B.D. Ehrman and M.W. Holmes (2nd ed.: Leiden and Boston 2014) 519-577.

³ For an illuminating discussion of New Testament manuscripts that do have known exemplars, see D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts* (Cambridge 2008) 133-141, 259-261. While Parker does not focus on number-writing techniques, his discussion of duplicate copies is relevant insofar as it illustrates the complexities involved in a given copying event. The few duplicate manuscripts that are extant reveal that individual scribes were interested in copying different features with varying degrees of care; we cannot expect uniformity in scribal behavior, nor can we be sure what textual/physical features a scribe would carry over without alteration.

⁴ The issue of scribal freedom within Graeco-Roman bookrolls is addressed by W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) esp. 15-57. A leading question in the book is the extent to which certain features of the bookroll were dependent upon scribal convention, preference, and/or exemplar texts. Interestingly, Johnson observes that, in terms of manuscript format, scribes did not usually copy their exemplars line-by-line, but typically preferred their own text layout. In addition, regarding punctuation, the findings were mixed; scribes generally copied some of the "bare-bones" punctuation markers (such as *paragraphoi*) but left most of the lectional aids and "lesser divisions of the syntax" to be added by later readers. Although numeri-

2. *A Veritable Patchwork: Various Text-Types in the Freer Gospels*

When Henry Sanders published the *editio princeps* of W, he surmised that the codex represented a patchwork of otherwise unrelated manuscript fragments left over from the destruction of the Diocletian persecution (303-311 CE).⁵ This patchwork composition is observable in two notable ways: (1) the first quire of John (1:1-5:11) is clearly the work of a different, and more recent, copyist, and (2) several text-types are discernible in block mixture throughout the manuscript. Sanders divided the codex into no less than seven distinct parts and specified a source for each:

- (1) Matt 1:1-28:20: Antioch
- (2) John 5:12-21:25: Hesychian
- (3) John 1:1-5:11: mostly Hesychian with some Coptic influence
- (4) Luke 1:1-8:12: Hesychian
- (5) Luke 8:13-24:53: Antioch
- (6) Mark 1:1-5:30: from a Greek-Latin bilingual
- (7) Mark 5:31-16:20: from a trilingual with decided Latin-Syriac and less Coptic tendencies⁶

Sanders observed that W reflects these different textual sources in spite of its uniform appearance. The only portion that is visually distinct is, as just noted, the first quire of John, which bears not only a different scribal hand, darker ink, and unique diacritical notations on initial vowels, but even the parchment itself is noticeably unlike that in the rest of the codex; it is recognized as a replacement quire for a lost original (hereafter W^a).⁷ Today, scholars have simplified and updated the designation of each text block while retaining the core of Sanders' argument. Bruce Metzger and Bart Ehrman, for example, summarize it as follows:

cal shorthand was not typically used in Graeco-Roman rolls, the present study seeks to complement Johnson's by focusing on one scribe's preferred technique of number-writing.

⁵ H.A. Sanders (ed.), *The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, Part 1: *The Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels* (New York 1912) 133.

⁶ Sanders (n. 5) 133-139.

⁷ Sanders proposed a more complicated theory about the origin of the first quire of John; see Sanders (n. 5) 5-16 and 135-136. For a current view, see U.B. Schmid, "Reassessing the Palaeography and Codicology of the Freer Gospel Manuscript," in Hurtado (n. 1) 227-249.

- (1) Matt: Byzantine throughout
- (2) John: Alexandrian/Western in 1:1-5:11; Alexandrian in 5:12-21:25
- (3) Luke: Alexandrian in 1:1-8:12; Byzantine in 8:13-24:53
- (4) Mark: Western in 1:1-5:30; Caesarean/similar to P⁴⁵ in 5:31-16:20⁸

Scholars have indeed recognized that this textual diversity in the Washington Codex bears significant implications for understanding how the scribe handled his or her exemplar(s). Whether the scribe's aim was to make a strict duplicate of the Vorlage(n) or a completely revised text is an open question. For instance, a recent study of W 032 begins with the following query,

Was the original scribe slavishly faithful to a number of exemplars, or did the scribe rather act as a self-conscious redactor, modifying all the Gospel texts to suit the needs of the community who supported the scribal work?⁹

Quite naturally, it would seem, a scribe who had several different exemplars at his or her disposal – as it appears our scribe had – consequently possessed the luxury of constructing a text of his or her own design. The problem with this suggestion, however, is the nature of the textual variety found in Washingtonianus. The manuscript is not mixed in terms of alteration between

⁸ B.M. Metzger and B.D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (Oxford 2005) 80. The designation “Caesarean” is now seen to be problematic. Formerly, this was a common view; see, e.g., K. Lake and R. Blake, “The Text of the Gospels and the Koridethi Codex,” *HTR* 16 (1923) 267-286; B.H. Streeter, “The Washington MS. of the Gospels,” *HTR* 19 (1926) 165-172; K. Lake, R. Blake, and S. New, “The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark,” *HTR* 21 (1928) 207-404; P. Hedley, “The Egyptian Texts of the Gospels and Acts,” *CQR* 118 (1934) 23-39. But see L.W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (Grand Rapids 1981), who concludes that the text of Mark in W is similar to that of P⁴⁵, but certainly not Caesarean or “pre-Caesarean”; there has been, to my knowledge, no answer to Hurtado.

⁹ D. Haugh, “Was Codex Washingtonianus a Copy or a New Text?,” in Hurtado (n. 1) 167-184 (167). Haugh's essay is concerned with “unique variants” in W that might indicate something about a theological bias on the part of the scribe; he concludes, by the way, that there is no evidence of a consistent theological redaction throughout the codex (see esp. 180). See also J.R. Royse, “The Corrections in the Freer Gospels Codex,” in Hurtado (n. 1) 185-226, who conducts a study of the scribal corrections in W and their implications; similar to Haugh, he finds no consistent “doctrinal motives” (see esp. 216).

Western, Alexandrian, and Byzantine readings from verse to verse or within verses, which would seem to suggest an editorial selection process. Rather, our manuscript is composed of block mixture – large sections of more or less monolithic text-types stitched together with easily detectable seams between them. If the scribe acted as a creative redactor, one would expect textual mixture from verse to verse (or within verses) throughout the entire codex, not the textual “blocks” such as we find. Frankly, the nature of textual variation found in W 032 does not truly lend itself to the idea that it is the result of minute decisions made by a redactor; rather, one suspects that the textual variation in W ought to be attributed to reasons beyond conscientious editing. The lengthy blocks of text-types, which show few signs of internal deviation, quite simply appear to be the result of necessity (that is, available exemplars) rather than editorial preference, just as Sanders originally hypothesized.

Yet there is another reason to doubt that 032 represents a thoroughly redacted version of the Gospels. In addition to the particular manner in which W exhibits blocks of diverse text-types, certain scribal habits also shift at precisely the same seams – shifts in scribal techniques that could hardly have been introduced independently by the copyist. In particular, recognizing the unique way in which the scribe of W transcribed numbers provides a surprisingly clear window into the manner in which the whole manuscript was produced and suggests that his or her *modus operandi* was that of strict copying.

3. Number-Writing in Koine Greek

Numerical abbreviations are an important feature of early New Testament manuscripts.¹⁰ It is well known that in Koine Greek, numbers could either be written fully (for example, δὺο) or as shorthand alphabetic characters (for example, $\bar{\alpha}$ = 1, $\bar{\beta}$ = 2, and so on).¹¹ This latter method of abbreviation was used mainly in documentary papyri and was not typically employed in works of Graeco-Roman literature, though they are found in many copies of Christian books, especially the early papyri. The supralinear bar was often written over such numerals to mark them off as abbreviations and signal that they were not to be confused with surrounding words. Not every New Testament manuscript

¹⁰ The foundational discussion of the phenomenon in Christian papyri is C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (Oxford 1979) 18-19.

¹¹ For a classic treatment of numbers in manuscripts of Greek literature, see E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. revd. by P.J. Parsons (London 1987) 15-16. For a discussion of number-writing in various other languages, see G. Ifrah, *The Universal History of Numbers: From Prehistory to the Invention of the Computer* (New York 2000).

contains such abbreviations and those that do are usually not consistent in their method of numbering, often fluctuating between abbreviated and non-abbreviated numerals (and often unpredictably).¹² In fact, it is not uncommon to find abbreviated numerals standing right alongside longhand numbers, even those of the same value; for example, at Luke 12:52, P⁷⁵ reads: *εχονται γαρ απο του νυν ε [= πέντε] εν ενι οικω διαμεμερικμενοι γ [= τρεῖς] επι δυοιν και β [= δύο] επι τριον*. Thus, in this particularly interesting instance, both number-writing systems are employed for even the same values in the one verse.¹³ The Freer Gospels Codex is likewise inconsistent in its employment of number-writing methods, alternating between shorthand and longhand. Remarkably, however, the fluctuation is not simply random but is patterned almost precisely with the aforementioned textual transitions in W.

4. Number-Writing in Codex Washingtonianus

In the *editio princeps* of Washingtonianus, Sanders observed how several scribal features in W such as ruling, *nomina sacra*, punctuation, paragraph breaks, diacriticals, and orthography underwent noticeable changes throughout the codex.¹⁴ He also saw that such variations in the style and frequency of these scribal elements fit the exact same pattern of text-type mixture in the codex noted above. For example, the use of the paragraph divisions (sometimes accompanied by *ekthesis*) is remarkably frequent in Matthew (195 instances), but entirely absent from the Western portion of Mark (1:1-5:30; no instances) and only occasionally used in the portion of Mark akin to P⁴⁵ (5:31-16:20; fourteen instances). They are employed frequently again in the Alexandrian portion of Luke (1:1-8:12; 130 instances) and less so in the Byzantine portion (8:13-24:53; 117 instances). W^s contains twenty-eight instances, and John 5:12-21:25 contains sixty-nine instances. To Sanders, it was clear that these different uses of the paragraph break reflect the distinct scribal techniques present in the various source-texts, and, moreover, that the scribe of W copied them over directly without significant alteration.¹⁵ He concluded, “The remarkable varia-

¹² Good examples of this inconsistency can be found in P²⁴ (Rev 5:6), P³⁵ (Matt 25:15, 22), P⁴⁵ (Mark 8:19; Acts 11:12; cf. Mark 6:38; Luke 13:14), P⁴⁷ (Rev 9:12; 11:11; 15:1; cf. 11:3; 9:18; 12:3), P⁶⁶ (John 6:67; cf. 6:70), P⁷⁵ (Luke 9:16, 33; 6:13; cf. 5:2, 11:5), 0162 (John 2:20), and 0171 (Luke 22:47).

¹³ I wish to credit H.A.G. Houghton for pointing out that, in this verse, numbers in the nominative case are abbreviated, and those in oblique cases are longhand; this might provide a clue about the nature of the practice in general within Christian manuscripts.

¹⁴ Sanders (n. 5) 8-26.

¹⁵ Interestingly, this contrasts with the normal practice found among Graeco-Roman bookrolls, in which scribes used their own preferred textual layouts; see Johnson (n.

tions in paragraphing in the different parts of the MS indicate quite plainly the care of the scribe in following his patchwork copy.”¹⁶

Sanders also hinted at a similar pattern in the use of numerical-abbreviations in W but did not explore the matter in detail, and, unfortunately, much of the relevant data he presented was inaccurate. For example, he stated that in Mark “all smaller numbers are written in full, all larger ones are expressed by letters [= abbreviations], except πεντακειχειλιοι, 6,44,” but this is demonstrably untrue.¹⁷ There also seem to be several numerals in W that Sanders was simply unaware of, and, consequently, they did not factor into his calculations, an oversight that no doubt affects the persuasive force of his argument.¹⁸ It is thus worth examining the matter afresh and in full to determine whether or not the number-writing techniques in W support Sanders’ hypothesis.

What follows, therefore, is a more thorough examination of all the numerals in W with special attention given to the block mixture of text-types throughout the codex. Given that this entails a considerable amount of data, it seems best to display the information graphically. In the following table, each hollow dot (○) represents an abbreviated numeral and each black dot (●) represents a longhand number. The vertical bars separate each Gospel into the appropriate number of chapters, the columns divided horizontally mark the textual seams that occur mid-chapter, and each shade denotes a particular text-type. Note that these tables, and the discussion that follows, consider both cardinals, ordinals, and, for completeness, adverbial uses of *πρῶτος*, *δεύτερος*, and so on.

4) 15-57.

¹⁶ Sanders (n. 5) 16. It is worth mentioning briefly some details regarding the *nomina sacra*. While in the Byzantine portion of Luke (8:13-24:13), *πατήρ*, *μήτηρ*, and *ἄνθρωπος* are consistently contracted, they are not contracted in Alexandrine portion (1:1-8:12) (Sanders [n. 5] 10). Also, in the Western portion of Mark (1:1-5:30), *ἄνθρωπος* and its derivatives are abbreviated five out of twelve occurrences, while in the second portion (5:31-16:20) there are no less than forty-one abbreviated occurrences and only one longhand (Sanders [n. 5] 10). Of course, this suggested to Sanders that the scribe had closely mimicked such forms from the exemplar texts. For a more recent treatment of the *nomina sacra* in W, see J.B. Prior, “The Use and Nonuse of *Nomina Sacra* in the Freer Gospel of Matthew,” in Hurtado (n. 1) 147-166.

¹⁷ Sanders (n. 5) 10; see, e.g., *δισχilioι* (Mark 5:13), *τετρακειχειλιοι* (8:9), *τετρακιχειλιους* (8:20), and *πεντακιχειλιους* (8:19).

¹⁸ Sanders counted one numerical abbreviation in John 5:13-21:25 where I count two, six in Luke where I count seven, and nineteen in Mark where I count thirty-one; see H.A. Sanders, “Age and Ancient Home of the Biblical Manuscripts in the Freer Collection,” *AJA* 13 (1909) 134.

The second table simply lists the same data with the respective percentages included:

Table 2: Percentages of Number-Style

Text Block	Longhand	Abbreviated
Matt 1:1-28:20	220 = 99%	2 = 1%
John 1:1-5:11	16 = 62%	10 = 38%
John 5:12-21:25	76 = 97%	2 = 3%
Luke 1:1-8:12	27 = 84%	5 = 16%
Luke 8:13-24:53	147 = 99%	2 = 1%
Mark 1:1-5:30	10 = 53%	9 = 47%
Mark 5:31-16:20	89 = 81%	21 = 19%

Codex W, like many other New Testament manuscripts, uses both systems of number writing: longhand forms and alphabetic abbreviations. Importantly, though, each text block evidences a distinctive scribal preference for how numbers are written. Matthew, which is Byzantine in textual character, almost exclusively contains longhand numbers, containing only two exceptions (both in 1:17), thus abbreviating less than 1% of all numbers.¹⁹ In contrast, the first quire of John (1:1-5:11) is Alexandrian/Western and contains sixteen longhand numbers and no less than ten numeral abbreviations, equaling a ratio of 62% to 38%. In the bulk of John (5:12-21:25), however, the scribe consistently used longhand numbers with only two deviations (both in 6:19), totaling just 3% of all numbers.²⁰ This difference between the portions of John might not be surprising because the first quire is from the hand of another, later copyist. However, the Alexandrian portion of Luke (1:1-8:12) exhibits nearly a half-dozen abbreviated numerals (five in all), totaling 16% of the numbers, while the Byzantine portion (8:13-24:53) reverts back to the nearly exclusive use of longhand numbers and contains only two abbreviated numbers (15:4, 7),

¹⁹ Matt 1:17 contains the number “fourteen” three times: longhand once, then shorthand twice (i.e., ιδ). It seems as though once the longhand form has “established” the value in the context, abbreviations may follow. A similar pattern seems to occur elsewhere in W: e.g., εττα (Mark 8:5), followed by ζ (8:6, 8, 20 [2x]); also εττα (Mark 12:20) followed by ζ (12:22, 23).

²⁰ These two abbreviations are κε = 25 (John 6:19) and λ = 30 (6:19).

totaling 99% longhand.²¹ Likewise, the text of Mark provides yet more changes in the habits of number writing: the Western portion (1:1-5:30) contains ten longhand numbers and nine abbreviated (53%-47%), while the portion akin to P⁴⁵ (5:31-16:20) contains eighty-nine longhand numbers and twenty-one abbreviated (81%-19%). In sum, the scribal techniques of number-writing in W change at precisely the same points where there are shifts in text-type.

If Codex Washingtonianus was crafted as a new text with complete editorial freedom, why then were numbers not written in a consistent fashion with which the scribe was familiar and comfortable? Other notable majuscule manuscripts utilize just one system of number-writing; for example, Codex Alexandrinus (A 02), Codex Vaticanus (B 03), and Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (C 04) consistently employ longhand numbers in the New Testament portions.²² The uniformity of number-writing techniques of these comparable majuscules brings the practice in W into sharp relief – a manuscript that simply alters the preferred method from one text block to the other. If the copyist had indeed self-consciously redacted the textual composition of W, one would expect at least some degree of regularity in these scribal conventions. On the contrary, the fact that numeral abbreviations occur in such discernible and predictable blocks shows that the scribe was not abbreviating numbers according to his or her preference but according to the pattern found in the source-texts. In other words, in light of the fact that we find such dramatic alterations of number-writing techniques that coincide with the recognized changes in text-type, it is very likely that the abbreviations have been copied over from the parent text(s), and thus in this respect W 032 reflects a scribal method that aimed at close adherence to the source-texts.²³ In effect, a more complete analysis of the data

²¹ Both abbreviations are $\overline{\phi\theta} = 99$ (Luke 15:4, 7), neither of which falls at the end of its respective line. This numeral was often used in Christian documentary papyri as an isopsephistic cipher for “amen”: i.e., $\alpha\mu\eta\nu = 1 + 40 + 8 + 50 = 99/\overline{\phi\theta}$. This special function in other contexts might provide a clue as to why this value alone is abbreviated in this portion of Luke. For discussion about $\overline{\phi\theta}$, see S.R. Llewelyn, “Christian Letters of Recommendation,” in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, vol. 8: *A Review of Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published 1984-85* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge, MA 1998) 169-172 (§15); see also, more recently, A. Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Cambridge, MA 2008) 219-221.

²² B 03 contains only one exceptional use of numerical abbreviation (Mark 5:13), and A 02 contains two (Rev 7:4; 21:17); both of the latter two instances, however, appear to be corrections written by the first hand of A 02, which originally omitted the numerals in question.

²³ An important counterpoint to these observations is the detailed comparison of duplicate documents by R. Yuen-Collingridge and M. Choat, “The Copyist at Work: Scribal Practice in Duplicate Documents,” in *Actes du 26e Congrès international de pa-*

confirms that Sanders was essentially correct in his proposition that the scribe had closely followed the abbreviations of the various source-texts even though he had based it on a less thorough and slightly flawed data set.

It is worth stating clearly that the evidence reviewed here does not suggest that every New Testament scribe copied numerical shorthand robotically. That scribes were free to use or avoid such abbreviations is indisputable and easily observed, especially when comparing manuscripts of overlapping text. Two early papyri of John's Gospel are a case in point: P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵ are both considered Alexandrian (B-text) in textual relation but contain starkly different scribal preferences of number writing. Whereas the scribe of P⁷⁵ exhibits marked will-
ingness to use numerical shorthand, particularly for values between two and one hundred, the scribe of P⁶⁶ shows a clear preference against the abbreviation of numbers, with only two instances in the whole of John's Gospel.²⁴ This freedom in part explains how the exemplars used by the copyist of W 032 could vary so drastically from one another in their respective number-styles; there is no evidence to suggest that most scribes behaved the same way as that of Washingtonianus.

4. Inaccurate Numbers

One final feature of the number-writing techniques in Codex W demands our attention. There is an interesting frequency of inaccurate numbers left uncorrected in W, many of which are singular readings – that is, readings found in no other known Greek witnesses.²⁵ For example, a singular is created in the

pyrologie: Genève, 16-21 août 2010, ed. P. Schubert (Geneva 2012) 827-834. While they observe several points of remarkable consistency between duplicate copies of documents made by the same scribes (e.g., *nu*-bars and line fillers even where the text layout differs), there is one instance in which a numerical symbol in “copy A” is written long-hand in “copy B” (832). The obvious difference in genre aside, this example confirms that we should by no means expect that scribes – whether in literary or documentary contexts – always copied abbreviations over directly. Nevertheless, the evidence from W suggests that this direct copying did sometimes occur.

²⁴This comparison is made by K. Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford 2000) 66.

²⁵Singular readings have been identified using the following: C. Tischendorf (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 2 vols. (8th ed.: Leipzig 1869-1872); H. von Soden (ed.), *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments*, Part 2: *Text mit Apparat* (Göttingen 1913), S.C.E. Legg (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Graece secundum Textum Westcotto-Hortianum: Evangelium secundum Marcum* (Oxford 1935); S.C.E. Legg (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Graece secundum Textum Westcotto-Hortianum: Evangelium secundum Mattheum* (Oxford 1940); American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament

text of Mark, where after the resurrection Jesus is said to appear to the $\overline{\iota\beta}$, that is, “the twelve” (16:14), though at this point, after the suicide of Judas, there are only eleven disciples.²⁶ Also, in Mark 6:37, our manuscript reads $\delta\eta\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omega\nu\ \overline{\rho}$ (= one hundred *denarii*), where all other known witnesses read “two hundred *denarii*,” which, if abbreviated, would be \overline{c} . Furthermore, W is the only known witness to record that the crippled man at Bethesda had been there for “forty-eight,” written $\overline{\mu\kappa}(\alpha\iota)\ \overline{\eta}$, rather than “thirty-eight” years (John 5:5). It is also the only witness to the omission of $\overline{\epsilon\iota\varsigma}$ from Mark 12:29b, which accordingly reads $\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \overline{\iota\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda'}\ \overline{\kappa\varsigma}\ \overline{o}\ \overline{\theta\varsigma}\ \eta\mu\omega\nu\ \overline{\kappa\varsigma}\ \epsilon\varsigma\tau\iota\nu$ = “Hear, Israel, the LORD our God, the LORD is.” W also contains a singular omission of the phrase $\kappa\alpha\tilde{\nu}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\tilde{\eta}\ \delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ from Luke 12:38, and it stands alone with minuscule 69 in the omission of $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu$ from Luke 9:59. And finally, yet another singular reading is found at Mark 16:9 in the omission of $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu$ after $\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\eta$. These numerical oddities and singular readings are quite surprising and are simply out of character for the copyist, who, as has been noted elsewhere, rarely creates nonsense readings and consistently corrects his or her own writing.²⁷ Regardless, for reasons that are beyond our immediate purview, our copyist has penned – or perhaps retained – such inaccurate numbers.

These examples of incorrect values, many of which are singular readings, are illustrative of a methodological difficulty within the field of New Testament textual criticism. Specifically, “scribal habits” are usually evaluated on the basis of singular readings, as these are presumed to have been created solely by the scribe in question.²⁸ But if it can be shown that a scribe usually copied his or her exemplar text(s) closely (as it appears is the case with W 032), is it not then likely that many of the readings otherwise identified as “singular” are not properly “singular” but rather inherited from the lost Vorlage(n)? A full discussion is beyond the scope of this study, but it is worth pointing out that, if some of

Project (eds.), *The New Testament in Greek: The Gospel according to St. Luke*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1984–1987); W.J. Elliott and D.C. Parker (eds.), *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel according to St. John*, vol. 1: *The Papyri* (Leiden and New York 1995); U.B. Schmid with W.J. Elliott, and D.C. Parker (eds.), *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel according to St. John*, vol. 2: *The Majuscules* (Leiden and Boston 2007).

²⁶ Note that the parallel in Matt 28:16 contains the longhand $\epsilon\nu\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ (which is the correct value). Incidentally, Codex Bezae (D 05) exhibits the same erroneous substitution of “twelve” at Acts 1:26. Perhaps the best explanation for these errors is that the scribes simply reverted to the more familiar and frequently repeated form for “twelve.”

²⁷ See Hurtado (n. 8) 68, and Sanders (n. 5) 26–28.

²⁸ For example, see J.R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (Leiden and Boston 2008); D. Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus* (Piscataway 2007); and J. Hernández, *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences in the Apocalypse: The Singular Readings of Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi* (Tübingen 2006).

these inaccurate numbers were indeed faithfully copied over by the scribe of W, focusing on singular readings alone will result in a distorted picture of W's actual method of copying.

5. Conclusion

This study set out to determine the *modus operandi* of the scribe of the Freer Gospels by analyzing the use (and nonuse) of numerical abbreviations within the body text of the codex. Washingtonianus proved to be a particularly interesting test case in light of its patchwork composition, a feature made evident by the spectrum of textual affinities found in discernible blocks throughout the codex. As it was shown, each block of text is characterized not only by a particular text-type, but also by a different scribal preference of number-writing. This pattern allows a unique window through which one can observe the copying process of Codex Washingtonianus. Rather than supposing that the scribe introduced these changes in number-writing independently, it is far more likely that the changing number-styles simply reflect the content of the parent text(s), just as Sanders originally suggested but was unable to demonstrate fully. I argue that this is an indication that the scribe of W was not creating a new literary product so much as a close copy of a preexistent original or multiple fragmentary originals.

A significant implication of this study is the possibility that numerals can function as visual indications of a manuscript's genealogy. If it is indeed true that the number-writing techniques present in W are reflective of those in the parent text(s), then it is at least conceivable if not plausible that other manuscripts are similarly representative of the number-styles in their exemplars. To the extent that one is able to identify similar number-writing techniques in two or more manuscripts, therefore, it may well be the case that such visual similarities might be indicative of dependency or some kind of genealogical relationship. Granted, for many manuscripts this will not be especially helpful (since not all scribes bothered to mimic abbreviations), but this could help to identify new textual relationships between witnesses or at least confirm with a visual connection those that already are known to be related.²⁹ However

²⁹ For example, a preliminary examination of the ninth-century codices F 010 and G 012, which are known to be closely related, revealed that they contain precisely the same scribal techniques of number-writing: in both manuscripts, all numbers are written fully with three exceptions in the same three locations: $\bar{\mu}$ (2 Cor 11:24), $\bar{\gamma}$ (Gal 1:18), and $\bar{\nu}$ καὶ $\bar{\lambda}$ (3:17, with slight variation). It is therefore almost certain that these were present in the common exemplar. Perhaps unsurprisingly, a similar scenario is found with D 06 and its Abschrift 0319 (D^{abs1}); all numbers are longhand in both codices,

difficult it may be to establish actual relationships by such a method, and it certainly would be, this study could suggest an additional tool by which to solve some of the more elusive problems in the text-critical study of ancient Greek literature.³⁰

with three exceptions in the same three locations: $\bar{\mu}$ (Heb 3:10), $\bar{\mu}$ (3:17), and ζ (11:30); although, D 06 contains one more abbreviation where 0319 is not extant: ξ (1 Tim 5:9).

³⁰ I should thank Daniel B. Wallace for suggesting the topic of this paper to me, Larry W. Hurtado and Ulrich B. Schmid for commenting on earlier drafts, and Jason K. Stein for his critical input.

A Contribution to the Revenues of the Crocodile in the Imperial Fayum: The Temple Tax on Property Transfer Revisited¹

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Abstract

This article examines a number of receipts issued by the priesthood at Tebtunis, which chiefly concern the “Temple Tax on Property Transfer,” usually referred to as the διδραχμία (Σούχου). These texts are mainly dated to the Roman period and written primarily in Demotic. These texts furnish the foundation for a discussion of the fiscal situation of the temple in the first two centuries AD. Finally, it is suggested that the decline of the economic status of the temple brought about by the Roman annexation of the country may have been less dire than often claimed.

1. Introduction

The indigenous priesthood of Roman Egypt is often described as stripped of earlier privileges and rights to revenues, burdened with duties, and tightly controlled.² The impressive survival of traditional temples constructed under

¹ I am greatly indebted to Todd Hickey for having read critically earlier drafts of this paper and given me many good suggestions. The comments of the two anonymous reviewers have massively improved this paper. Any error or inadequacy is my responsibility alone.

² E.g. J.A.S. Evans, “A Social and Economic History of an Egyptian Temple in the Graeco-Roman Period,” *YCS* 17 (1961) 213-216; I. Moyer, *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism* (Cambridge 2011) 270-273; H. Kockelmann, “Sobek und die Caesaren. Einige Bemerkungen zur Situation der Krokodilgötterkulte des Fayum unter römischer Herrschaft,” in K. Lembke, M. Minas-Nerpel, and S. Pfeiffer (eds.), *Tradition and Transformation: Egypt und Roman Rule* (Leiden 2010) 203, n. 1; S. Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*

the Caesars³ has occasionally gone unnoticed in the discussion regarding the priesthood's social position or seems not to have been enough to contradict this gloomy picture. The dismal state of the priesthood and its financial situation is perhaps slightly exaggerated here and lately has in fact undergone some modification.⁴ Yet, in the Roman period, the Egyptian temples and their priesthoods were certainly long past their heydays in terms of political influence and economic independence.⁵ Nonetheless, priests were still involved in the fiscal affairs of the countryside, and sanctuaries around the country had ample on-going economic activity.⁶

In this paper, I will focus primarily on one aspect of the priestly economy, a money tax, which the priesthood at Tebtunis and possibly elsewhere collected – unabated, it seems – from at least the end of the second century BC until the

und das Land am Nil. Kaiserverehrung und Kaiserkult in Alexandria und Ägypten von Augustus bis Caracalla (30 v. Chr. – 217 n. Chr.) (Stuttgart 2012) 37-38, 49-55, and 195.

³ Cf., e.g., O. Kaper, "Temple Building in the Egyptian Deserts During the Roman Period," in O. Kaper (ed.), *Living on the Fringe: Living in the Southern Egyptian Deserts During the Roman and Early-Byzantine Periods* (Leiden 1998) 139-145; D. Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun: Egyptian Temple Construction and Theology in Roman Thebes* (Turnhout 2012), passim; M. Minas-Nerpel, "Egyptian Temples," in Ch. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2012) 362-382.

⁴ E.g. L. Capponi, "Priests in Augustan Egypt," in J.H. Richardson and F. Santangelo (eds.), *Priests and State in the Roman World* (Stuttgart 2011) 507-512; W. Clarysse, "Egyptian Temples and Priests, Graeco-Roman," in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, vol. 1 (Chichester 2010) 289-290; F. Herklotz, "Aegyptio capta – Augustus and the Annexation of Egypt," in Ch. Riggs (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2012) 16; T. Hickey, "Writing History from the Papyri," in R. Bagnall (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 506; A. Monson, "Sacred Land in Ptolemaic and Roman Tebtunis," in S.L. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos. Leben im römischen Fajum* (Wiesbaden 2005) 84-91.

⁵ Excellent résumés include A. Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Studien zum praefectus Aegypti* (Stuttgart 2009) 338-343; Kockelmann (n. 2) 203-214; Moyer (n. 2) 270-273.

⁶ The papyrological material from Soknopaiou Nesos provides an example of thriving economic activities connected with the priesthood, see e.g. S.L. Lippert, "Die Abmachungen der Priester. Einblicke in das Leben und Arbeiten in Soknopaiou Nesos," in M. Capasso and P. Davoli (eds.), *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum* (Lecce 2007) 145-155; S.L. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, *Quitungen* (Wiesbaden 2006), passim, esp. 9-14; W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im Hellenistischen Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1905) 340-366; K. Ruffing, "Kult, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im römischen Ägypten. Das Beispiel Soknopaiou Nesos," in M. Fitzenreiter, S. Kirchner, and O. Kreisleit (eds.), *Das Heilige und die Ware. Zum Spannungsfeld von Religion und Ökonomie* (London 2007) 95-122.

mid second century AD. The charge under discussion is commonly known as the “Temple Tax on Property Transfer” or διδραχμία (Σούχου),⁷ even if this exact term in Greek is only found in one text: *BGU* 3.748 (AD 62).

The διδραχμία provides an important piece of evidence for the financial status of the temple in this period, but it has all too often gone unnoticed or has only been mentioned in passing by scholars dealing with this institution in Graeco-Roman Egypt. One reason as to why the collection of this tax has been disregarded in the discussion may depend on the fact that it appears in only a few texts. There is probably also a (mis)conception that incorporating it into any argument on the temple economy in Roman Egypt would only produce slim evidence. Nevertheless, enough material survives for the διδραχμία to warrant a more comprehensive treatment.

2. The Receipts

The charge under discussion is known from two Greek receipts, the Ptolemaic *P.Tebt.* 2.281 (= *W.Chr.* 289), which dates to 125 BC, and *BGU* 3.748 from nearly two centuries later. The latter text is the only example of this levy from a locality other than Tebtunis, namely Crocodilopolis. In addition, there are a number of Demotic receipts from the first and second centuries AD. These are

⁷ See e.g. (in chronological order): B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, and E.J. Goodspeed, *The Tebtunis Papyri*, vol. II (London 1907) 39; F. Preisigke, *Fachwörterbuch des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens* (Göttingen 1915) 57; A.C. Johnson, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. 2 (Baltimore 1936) 558; S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (London and Oxford 1938) 242 and 453; A.E.R. Boak, W.F. Edgerton, and E. Husselman, *Papyri from Tebtunis*, vol. II (Ann Arbor and London 1944) 333; Evans (n. 2) 223; K.A. Worp, *Einige Wiener Papyri* (Amsterdam 1972) 11-12; W.J. Rüb-sam, *Götter und Kulte in Faiyum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit* (Bonn 1974) 27 and 184; S.P. Vleeming, “The Tithe of Scribes (and) Representatives,” in J. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multicultural Society from Cambyse to Constantine and Beyond* (Chicago 1992) 349; R. Bogaert, “L’opération des banques de l’Égypte romaine,” *AncSoc* 30 (2000) 175; F. Reiter, *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites. Ein Beitrag zum Steuerwesen im römischen Ägypten* (Paderborn 2004) 217; K. Ryholt, “Demotic Receipts for Temple-Tax on Property Transfer at Tebtunis in the Roman Period (P. Carlsberg 268, 431, 432, 469, 582; P.Mich. Inv. 664; P.Botti II),” in F. Hoffmann and H.-J. Thissen (eds.), *Res severa verum gaudium. Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004* (Leuven 2004) 529-530; A. Winkler, “New Names, Divine Dues, and Archaising Terminology: Three Notes on *P.Zauzich* 59 and the διδραχμία τοῦ Σούχου in Roman Tebtunis,” *APF* 60 (2014) 154-168. See also the comment to *P.Ryl.* 2.213.97.

P.Zauz. 56, 57, and 59 (= *P.Mich.* 5.342) edited by Ryholt in 2004.⁸ Two further Demotic texts of a similar kind are *P.Tebt.Suppl.* 1432 and *PSI inv. D.* 106.⁹

The Temple Tax on Property Transfer probably has its origin in a levy, which in Upper Egypt can be traced back to at least the Saite period. Both the temple and the state were the original beneficiaries of this charge; up until the early Ptolemaic period they seem to have divided the monies between each other.¹⁰ A temple levy on landed property transfer is thus not unique for Tebtunis in the Ptolemaic period (see sect. 3 below); also temples elsewhere could tax such transfers. Comparable practices are, however, rarely attested at other localities under the Romans (see sect. 10 below).¹¹ That the priests in imperial Tebtunis were able to collect such monies does not mean, therefore, that every temple enjoyed similar rights in this time. If the phenomenon had been more common, it would have shown up in the documentation.¹² Arguably the Soknebtunis temple in Tebtunis was exceptional, but not unique. Why the priests of Tebtunis enjoyed these privileges – if they indeed were such – is another question, however.

⁸ Ryholt (n. 7) 509-533. The other texts published by Ryholt hardly qualify to be included here; they are either too fragmentary (*P.Zauz.* 62) or record other kinds of transactions (*P.Zauz.* 58 [= *P.Tebt.Botti* 2], 60, and 61). *P.Zauz.* 58 and 61 cannot be identified as receipts for the “Temple Tax on Property Transfer,” as suggested by the editor. Botti, the first editor of *P.Zauz.* 58, refers to the text as a “declaration of an agreement” (G. Botti, “Papiri demotici dell’epoca imperiale da Tebtynis,” in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, vol. 2 [Milan 1957] 51). The deal concerned is limited in time; it is supposed to run for a year, and the word that describes the transaction *ḥꜥ*, pertains to issuing a surety. *P.Zauz.* 61 is probably handed out for a payment of agricultural taxes (see sect. 7 below). *P.Zauz.* 60 is a memorandum relating to agricultural affairs (see J. Quack, Review of Hoffmann and Thissen [n. 7], *APF* 51 [2005] 185).

⁹ *P.Zauz.* 59 is reedited in A. Winkler, “Third Time’s the Charm? The Councillor Priests and a Document From the Reign of Claudius, Redux,” *JARCE* 51 (2015), while the other two papyri will appear elsewhere.

¹⁰ B.P. Muhs, *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers, and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes* (Chicago 2005) 2-6 and 66-72; Vleeming (n. 7) 347-349.

¹¹ See, e.g., *P.Hal.* 1.242-245 and the discussion in S. Kambitsis, *Le Papyrus Thmouis I* (col. 68-160) (Paris 1985) 32, for references.

¹² There were of course other kinds of levies, which were more widespread, such as the *logeia* (see, e.g., D. Klotz, “Λογεῖα-Receipts and the Construction of Deir Shelwit,” *ZPE* 168 [2009] 252-256; *Id.* [n. 3] 296-297; P. Heilporn, *Recherches sur la taxation dans l’Égypte Romaine* [Paris 2009] 236; K.A. Worp, “Observations on the Demotic Tax Receipts from the Theban Region in Roman Times,” *ZPE* 80 [1990] 245-247). See also Evans (n. 2) 238-240; Wallace (n. 7) 243-245.

Table 1: receipts for διδραχμία (Σούχου)

Source	Date	Property	Locality	Transaction
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 2.281	125 BC Mar 18	ψιλὸς τόπος	Tebtunis ¹³	Sale
<i>P.Zauz.</i> 59	AD 41 Aug 24 ¹⁴	ἥμισυ μέρος οἰκίας τριστεύου, αὐλή ¹⁵	Tebtunis	Sale ¹⁶
<i>BGU</i> 3.748 (col. 3)	AD 62 May 29	οἰκία, two αἶθρια, αὐλή, on two lots (ἐν δυοῖ σφραγῖσι)	Crocodilopolis	Sale
<i>P.Tebt.Suppl.</i> 1432	AD 130/131	---- ¹⁷	Tebtunis	Inheritance/ donation
<i>P.Zauz.</i> 57	AD 152 June 25	House (ϣ.wy)	Tebtunis	Sale
<i>P.Zauz.</i> 56	2nd cent. AD	Part of a vineyard (<i>tny.t pljy n šsp.t</i>)	Tebtunis	Sale
PSI inv. D 106	1st/2nd cent. AD	----	Tebtunis	Sale(?) ¹⁸

¹³The property for which the tax was remitted was situated in Tebtunis, but it has been suggested that this receipt was written in Crocodilopolis. A priest serving Souchos, the main deity of that locality, issued it (see sect. 5 below). Nevertheless, there was also a cult devoted to this god at Tebtunis (e.g. Rübsam [n. 7] 184-185). It is therefore possible that the tax benefitted the local Souchos sanctuary and not (only) the temple of this god at Crocodilopolis. The charges were extracted on the “sacred revenues,” usually land dedicated to the deity (see sect. 4 below). It is clear that the temple in the nome capital administered at least some of these lands, but it cannot be excluded that part of the sacred revenues of Souchos in Tebtunis profited directly the local cult of this god; *P.Brit. Mus.* EA 10648 indicates that the temple lands would have been qualified as belonging to Souchos of Crocodilopolis if this deity were indeed implied (cf. C.J. Martin, “How to Write a Demotic Legal Document: *P.BM.* EA 10648,” in D. Devauchelle and G. Widmer (eds.), *Actes du IXe congrès international des études démotiques* [Cairo 2009] 202-203). Even if the temple in the nome capital had the entitlement to collect the διδραχμία in Tebtunis, the issuer of the receipt, Marres, son of Sochotes, may have been local to the town; he is possibly attested as a document witness in *PEhev.* 7D v^o 5 (= *P.Cair.* 2.30607) from 128 BC. If so, he was probably responsible for farming this tax in Tebtunis and its surroundings (see sect. 5 below) and not the whole nome.

¹⁴F. Mitthof, “Bemerkungen zur Datierung von Urkunden,” *ZPE* 132 (2000) 224.

¹⁵The main description stems from the connected ἐγκύκλιον-tax receipt (*P.Mich.* 5.235). The Demotic text only says that the acquired property was a house (ϣ.wy), which was equipped with a “courtyard” (*ihy*) (W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* [Copenhagen 1954] 40) being to the east of the house.

¹⁶¹⁷ The tax was remitted to the temple, either directly or indirectly, on the transfer of ownership of immovable property, including houses, empty lots, and vineyards (see table 1 above). In the oldest receipt mentioning the charge, *P.Tebt.* 2.281, it is specified as collected on houses and building places (οἰκία καὶ τόπος). The impost was levied from acquirers of property (παρὰ τῶν κτωμένων) and was probably charged on most kinds of transfer of ownership. The tax had to be paid whether the property was obtained by purchase, inheritance, donation, or the like. But it is plausible that the charged percentage varied between different types of acquisition (see sect. 3 below).

The majority of the attested transactions of this levy concerns sales, with one exception. While *P.Zauz.* 59 specifies the transaction as a purchase (*in.ḫ db3 ḥd*), *P.Zauz.* 57 and *P.Tebt.Suppl.* 1432 refer to the property conveyed as “received” (*šsp*). In the first case, the transaction must refer to a purchase; no family ties are indicated between the two parties¹⁹ and the term under discussion can indeed mean “to buy.”²⁰ The other text, however, explicitly states that the house was obtained (*šsp*) from the father of the two payers (*n-dr.t NN p3y=tn iḫ*), who were siblings, a brother and a sister (ῥ...¹ *t3y=k sn.t*). It is therefore wise to assume that a charge was also paid on property acquired through inheritance or donation. If the charges were only levied on sales, it makes little sense to use this method for transferring property within a family. Other texts, for instance, *P.Tebt.* 2.351, demonstrate that the state also levied a tax on donations of landed property, the so-called τέλος ἐκστάσεως,²¹ but with considerably lower sums than the percentage expected for proper sales (see sect. 3 below). In analogy with this, it can be assumed that the Soknebtunis temple was entitled to do the same under certain conditions (see sect. 4 and 8 below).

¹⁶The sale is probably the result of a division of property depending on an inheritance; the vendor of the property is the procurer's brother.

¹⁷This might be a house; faint traces of a house determinative seem to be preserved, but the reading is inconclusive.

¹⁸The papyrus is too fragmentary to allow any precise conclusions as to its nature. Still, the best identification is to understand it as a receipt of similar kind as discussed here; the papyrus contains a payment formula, the mention of property, followed by badly distorted names, possibly neighbours or the previous possessor of the property on transfer.

¹⁹See Ryholt (n. 7) 512-514.

²⁰A. Monson, *Agriculture and Taxation in Early Ptolemaic Egypt: Demotic Land Surveys and Accounts* (*P.Agr.*) (Bonn 2012) 23, n. 151; T.S. Richter, *Rechtssemantik und forensische Rhetorik. Untersuchungen zu Wortschatz, Stil und Grammatik der Sprache koptischer Rechtsurkunden* (Leipzig 2002) 314.

²¹Johnson (n. 7) 560; Reiter (n. 7) 217, n. 14; Wallace (n. 7) 229.

P.Zauz. 56 is peculiar; the receipt does not mention the tax explicitly (see sect. 3 below) and seemingly only declares that a certain Psoiphis, son of Pahophis, had remunerated the priesthood with the value (*swn*) of a part (*tny.t*) of a vineyard. The land in question is said to belong to a Kronion, son of Kronion (l. 8), and on the subsequent line only traces of writing are left before the papyrus breaks off. In the end of the last partially preserved line, a name can be read, perhaps Pahophis.²² This must either be the name or patronymic of a neighbour or that of the previous possessor of the acquired part of Kronion's field. The second suggestion seems more probable. In the lost beginning of the line, it is possible to reconstruct the same phrasing as found in the other texts of this kind (*r.šsp=k n-dr.t NN*) after the property on transfer has been defined; only traces of ink remain, but they seem not to oppose this reading. The editor's interpretation of the receipt as a payment for the *διδραχμία* on a purchase of a vineyard is therefore sensible.²³

3. Two Taxes

The *διδραχμία* was paid along with another tax of the same kind, the so-called *ἐγκύκλιον* tax, which benefitted the coffers of the state.²⁴ The latter charge was levied on all kinds of property transfer, primary sales were taxable, but also donations, inheritance,²⁵ and mortgages were charged. The tax was likewise imposed on other kinds of property than only landed one; for instance, the acquirers of slaves or ships were also liable to pay this charge. Even the procurers of various offices had to surrender payments for this levy.²⁶ The *ἐγκύκλιον* tax was commonly collected at a rate of 10%, although the

²² See E. Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch* (Wiesbaden 1980-2000) 399. The second element of the name *-H'py* is undisputable. Ryholt (n. 6) 512 also identifies a name but does not provide any reading.

²³ Ryholt (n. 7) 510.

²⁴ See, e.g. (in chronological order): U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1899) 182-185; Johnson (n. 7); 558-559; Wallace (n. 7) 227-231; Boak, Edgerton, and Husselman (n. 7) 49-51; T.C. Skeat, "A Receipt for *ἐγκύκλιον*," *JEA* 45 (1959) 75-78; P.W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.)* (Leuven 1993) 353-359; K. Maresch, *Bronze und Silber. Papyrologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Währung im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Opladen 1996) 214-216; Bogaert (n. 7) 135-140, 156-161, and 172; L. Capponi, *Augustan Egypt: The Creation of a Roman Province* (London 2005) 148-149; Muhs (n. 10) 66-72; Reiter (n. 7) 216-228; M. Resel, "Neuedition einer Bankquittung für *ἐγκύκλιον*. *P.Tebt. II* 350 + *P.Tebt.Suppl. 1370*," *Tyche* 27 (2012) 119-125.

²⁵ So Reiter (n. 7) 218; Vleeming (n. 7) 346.

²⁶ Reiter (n. 7) 218; Resel (n. 24) 122.

percentage could fluctuate through time, and not all transactions were subject to the same levels.²⁷ The state tax on property transfer was thus much more widespread in Egypt as a whole, and probably also in Tebtunis; there is no evidence for that the διδραχμία was collected on anything else than transfer of landed property.

The rate of the Temple Tax on Property Transfer appears to have been more or less stable at 10% of the value of the acquired property.²⁸ The Greek designation διδραχμία found in *BGU* 3.748 seems in fact to be an abbreviation of διδραχμία τῶν κ <δραχμῶν> (ἥ ἐστὶν δεκάτη παρὰ τῶν κτωμένων οἰκίας ἢ τόπου) found in *P.Tebt.* 2.281. “2 drachms per 20 drachms” may by and large also be the Demotic designation for the same charge. In *P.Zauz.* 59, from the reign of Claudius, the Egyptian equivalent is attested. The text suggests that the charge was called *hḏ qd.t* (*r*) (*dbn*) *hḏ*: “the tax of one kite per *deben* silver,”²⁹ with a kite equal to 2 drachms and one *deben* worth 20 drachms.³⁰


It is possible that the same term was in use nearly a century later. *P.Zauz.* 57 records the payment of the same charges for a transfer of ownership of a house and seems also to mention a more precise tax rate, but the exact reading remains obscure.³¹ Also *P.Tebt.Suppl.* 1432 includes a rate, though also here the

²⁷ Capponi (n. 24) 148-149; Reiter (n. 7) 216-217; Vleeming (n. 7) 346-350; Worp (n. 7) 11. This was also the case in Ptolemaic payments of this kind; for instance, mortgages were charged at a level of 2% (e.g. J. Keenan, in G. R. Hughes and R. Jasnow, *Oriental Institute Hawara Papyri: Demotic and Greek Texts from an Egyptian Family Archive in the Fayum, Fourth to Third Century B.C.* [Chicago 1997] 46-48).

²⁸ Cf. Wallace (n. 7) 453.

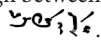
²⁹ Winkler (n. 7) 161-162.

³⁰ E.g. M. Lichtheim, *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu* (Chicago 1957) 1-2; Maresch (n. 24) 34-51.

³¹ The papyrus is rubbed in this spot. The editor reads *p3 hḏ* in l. 6 and translates “the money.” But the space between ... *di=k mtry* ⁽⁶⁾ | *h3t=n n p3*: “You have caused ⁽⁶⁾ | our heart(s) to agree to the” and *n p3* ‘.wy: “for the house” is too large to have held only the word *hḏ* “silver, money” (Erichsen [n. 15] 335-336) and there are fairly intelligible remains of a word that may be read as *qd.t* “kite” (*Id.*, 552) preceding *hḏ* “(*deben*) silver” (*Id.*, 335): . The diagonal stroke in the group read tentatively as *qd.t* is slightly enhanced; a colour photo of the original shows a thin slash above the dot following the definite article (I am grateful to Kim Ryholt, Copenhagen, for providing me with a colour photograph of this text). I cannot read the sign after *hḏ* satisfactorily, but it is possibly a compressed writing of *sp-sn.w* (*Id.*, 426). Since *qd.t* is a feminine word, the preceding masculine definite article does not make sense unless there is another word or set of words missing. It is possible that *hḏ* “(the) tax” should be amended between *p3* and *qd.t* parallel to the same clause in *P.Zauz.* 59. Possibly also *swn* “value” could be added; the word figures in *P.Zauz.* 56 as well. Though this restoration is speculative.

reading is not entirely clear. Probably, however, the text states that the priests received “3 drachms for (*hr*) the tax (*p3 hḏ*).”³² Three drachms may seem as a low sum, even if the cause for the transfer of the property is inheritance. *P.Tebt.* 2.351 records a payment of the state tax on the acquisition of a house through donation. The circumstances there are thus similar to those in the Demotic receipt under discussion. In the Greek text, the payment is 4 drachms, which according to the editors must be interpreted as a portion of the total property value. It is unclear how high the percentage would be, but judging from the normal price of houses,³³ it cannot be more than one or two percent, if even so much. Nevertheless, the suggestion to read 3 drachms aligns well with the Greek papyrus. It has been suggested that the low sum in *P.Tebt.* 2.351 represents one installment, so possibly the same applies to *P.Tebt.Suppl.* 1432. But with only this one unclear attestation it is risky to draw any decisive conclusion about the meaning of the rate in question.³⁴

Three of the διδραχμία receipts can be matched with an ἐγκύκλιον receipt, i.e. two receipts attest that the same people had remitted both payments for the same transaction. The three pairs are in chronological order: *P.Tebt.* 2.280 and 2.281, *P.Zauz.* 59 and *P.Mich.* 5.235,³⁵ and *BGU* 3.748, a private *tomos synkollesimos*,³⁶ which contains the receipt for the ἐγκύκλιον tax (col. 2) pasted together with the receipt for the διδραχμία (col. 3). In other instances where the ἐγκύκλιον tax for property transfer is attested together with other documents no temple charges are usually found.³⁷ This fact underlines the singularity of the charge under discussion at Tebtunis, but a similar impost was also paid

³² Even if the reading suggested above seems to be most viable one, the sign between *qd.t w'.t gs hr* and *hḏ* can also be read *dbn* “*deben*” (Erichsen [n. 15] 335) . If so, the text indicates an increased tax-rate of 15% instead of the usual 10%. If this suggestion is correct, the percentage appears horrendous in relation to inheritances or donations, which must be the reason for the transfer of property in this case (see sect. 2 above).

³³ H. J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians* (St. Katharinen 1991) 78–83.

³⁴ In this connection, however, it can be remembered that the ἐγκύκλιον tax also had inconsistent rates; see n. 27 above.

³⁵ Winkler (n. 7) 159.

³⁶ See W. Clarysse, “Tomoi Synkollesimoi,” in M. Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World* (Oxford 2003) 344–359.

³⁷ E.g. *P.AdL.Gr.* 3, 9, 13, *P.AdL.Dem.* 2, and *P.Grenf.* 2.34 from Pathyris; *P.Ashm.Dem.* 14, 15, and 25 and *P.OI.Hawara* 7A–C from Hawara; *P.Ryl.Dem.* 15 from Hermonthis. Cf. Vleeming (n. 7) 343–350.

in at least one other locality in the Roman period, Crocodilopolis (see sect. 10 below).

Table 2: ἐγκύκλιον-tax receipts

Source	Date	Difference	Paid at
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 2.280	126 BC, Sept 17	- 183 days	Crocodilopolis
<i>P.Mich.</i> 5.235	AD 41, Aug 26	2 days	Crocodilopolis
<i>BGU</i> 3.748.2	AD 62, May 29	0 days	Crocodilopolis

As is seen from Table 2 containing the ἐγκύκλιον-tax receipts, the dates for the Ptolemaic payments differ by nearly six months. The state tax was paid in year 44 of Ptolemy VIII on the 29th of Mesore, while the contribution forwarded to the temple was paid in the following year, on the 27th of Mecheir (Table 1). The timespan between the two instalments recorded in both sets of Roman receipts is considerably smaller; the payment of the taxes found in *P.Zauz.* 59 and *P.Mich.* 5.235 were made to the temple in *Kaisareios*, on epagomenal day 1, and two days later to the state, at the office of the nomarch in Crocodilopolis (Table 1). Finally, in *BGU* 3.748 both imposts were remitted on the same day, 6th of Pauni in year 8 of Nero. The various dates suggest that there was no fixed order in how these payments were supposed to be forwarded, and that there seems to have been ample time for the debtor to settle his dues with both the temple and the state after the taxable transaction was completed. The time difference found in the receipts is arguably best explained through individual preference and convenience. That the priesthood was paid before the state under Claudius (*P.Zauz.* 59 and *P.Mich.* 5.235) is probably justified by the fact that the temple was closer to home for the debtor. He first recompensed the priests and then travelled to the nome capital so as to settle his dues with the state. That both taxes recorded in *BGU* 3.748 were paid on the same day may be explained by the fact that the debtor could pay both imposts in the same locality.

4. The Taxed Property

The Ptolemaic receipt *P.Tebt.* 2.281 explains the διδραχμία as collected from “the sacred revenues (of Souchos)” (ἱερὰ πρόσοδοι Σούχου).³⁸ The term is commonly rendered as *hṯp-nṯr* in Egyptian and often translated as “divine

³⁸ Though the receipt attests a payment for Souchos (see n. 13 above), it must be assumed that also the Soknebtunis temple levied the same charge in the Ptolemaic period. It unlikely that the income would have been a new prerogative under the Romans and also this god had a sacred endowment in the town, as found in, for instance, *P.Cair.*

endowment.”³⁹ *P.Ryl.Dem.* 15 is a fine example illustrating the correspondence between the two locutions. The Demotic contract specifies a field as being situated on the divine endowment (*hṭp-ntr*), while the adjacent ἐγκύκλιον-tax receipt (SB 1.5104 = *P.Ryl.* 2.248) describes it as being on the ἱεραὶ πρόσοδοι. The Egyptian expression *hṭp-ntr* is usually understood as referring to hieratic land. But the term is sometimes employed in the Roman period for monies belonging to the temple treasury (e.g. *P.Dime* 2.61.4 [6 BC]). That levies were imposed on the “sacred revenues” shows that it was collected on certain activities, transfers of property in this case, in villages and on agricultural lands belonging to the temple (cf. *P.Tebt.* 1.5.58-9 [= *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53]), at least before the Roman conquest.⁴⁰ Even if the Ptolemaic documents are not necessarily indicative of later conditions, it is doubtful whether these had changed as radically at Tebtunis in the Roman period, as it is often claimed.⁴¹

It is conceivable that the town and its sanctuary enjoyed unusual rights in keeping on to a share of the sacred revenues, which in other locations for the most part had been surrendered already by the early years after the Roman annexation of the country (see sect. 7 below). The presence of the receipts under discussion suggests that the Soknebtunis temple still levied its share on “its” estate. Any assumption that the διδραχμία after Augustus’ conquest would have been collected on other grounds or on other activities than before is unlikely given the information provided by the texts.

2.30630.7 and 2.30631.7 (A. Winkler, “Swapping Lands at Tebtunis in the Ptolemaic Period – A Reassessment of *P.Cairo* II 30630 and 30631,” in Y. Broux and M. Depauw (eds.), *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies* [Leuven 2014] 361-390). Notice that the Roman-era *P.Mich.* 5.256, 5.263, and 5.322 attest temple land of both deities in the proximity of the town (cf. sect. 7 below).

³⁹ E.g. H. Alternmüller, Y. El-Masry, and H.-J. Thissen, *Das Synodaldekret von Alexandria aus dem Jahre 243 v. Chr.* (Hamburg 2012) 89; F. Colin, “Les prêtresses indigènes dans l’Égypte hellénistique et romaine ...,” in H. Melaerts and H. Mooren (eds.), *Le rôle et le statut de la femme in Égypte hellénistique, romaine et byzantine ...* (Leuven 2002) 52; Erichsen (n. 14) 339; G.R. Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases* (Chicago 1952) 21; P.W. Pestman, “Receipt for Payment of a Part of the ἀπραβεία,” in E. Boswinkel and P.W. Pestman (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues* (Leiden 1978) 116-117.

⁴⁰ Attestations of this expression from the Roman era include: *BGU* 5.1210 (*Gnomon of the Idios Logos*), a priestly declaration to the state authorities from Bacchias: SB 6.9335 (= *P.Bacch.* 6 = *P.Lund* 3.4; cf. n. 86 below), and *P.Tebt.* 2.294 (= *W.Chr.* 78). The term cannot be connected directly with land owned by the temple in any of these attestations.

⁴¹ See A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans: Political and Economic Change in Egypt* (Cambridge 2012) 131, n. 128.

5. *The Beneficiary*

In most cases, the Temple Tax on Property Transfer was paid at the local temple or to its representatives, whereas the ἐγκύκλιον tax had to be remitted to the state bank in the nome capital.⁴² *P.Tebt.* 2.280 is the oldest attestations for this payment on a property in Tebtunis, while *P.Tebt.* 2.580 (AD 155) is the latest example.⁴³ That the collectors of the two taxes are in all instances different people militates against Worp's assumption that the same authorities collected the two charges.⁴⁴ That there were different collectors of the two levies suggests that the Temple Tax on Property Transfer was not forwarded to the state and thus that the monies were destined for the temple coffers (cf. *P.Tebt.* 2.281.8),⁴⁵ unlike some taxes in the collection of which the priesthood acted merely as a middleman between payer and the state.⁴⁶ It is therefore certain that at least a part of the transfers of immovable property in Tebtunis were taxed doubly compared to other localities where the temples did not enjoy the right to collect similar imposts. The total tax paid would have been 20% of the property value instead of the regular 10%. Drawing on the few preserved attestations of the διδραχμία, Bogaert went as far as to suggest that the acquirer of property in the Arsinoite nome had to pay twice as much in transfer taxes as elsewhere.⁴⁷ But he likely overestimated the fiscal consequences of the impost under discussion.

There is a difference between the recipient of the payment in the Demotic and Greek receipts. The Demotic texts are issued by the "Priests of Soknebtunis" (*n3 w' b. w n Sbk-nb-t3-tny/Sbk-nb-Btn.w*),⁴⁸ that is, several individuals, who were responsible for the fiscal dealings of the temple, signed the documents,

⁴² *P.Mich.* 5.236 (Boak, Edgerton, and Husselman [n. 7] 49-51) is a receipt for a tax on property transfer, possibly issued by the local *grapheion* at Tebtunis (see A.E.R. Boak, *Papyri from Tebtunis*, vol. I [Ann Arbor 1933] 101), but this is by no means certain. The papyrus may contain either two receipts issued to the same payer or two copies of the same receipt. Another exception is *P.Tebt.* 2.351, which might have been issued by a local agent of the nomarch's office according to the editors (see H. Melaerts, "Aspects du rôle économique des femmes à Tebtynis à l'époque romaine," in Melaerts and Moeren [n. 39] 230-231, n. 69).

⁴³ Reiter (n. 7) 223.

⁴⁴ Worp (n. 7) 12.

⁴⁵ Johnson (n. 7) 558 assumes that the διδραχμία attested in *BGU* 3.748 indicates that the name was kept but that the charge had been redesigned and filled the state coffers instead of those of the temple.

⁴⁶ Cf. Capponi (n. 24) 133; Lippert and Schentuleit (n. 6) 9-14.

⁴⁷ Bogaert (n. 7) 175, n. 169.

⁴⁸ See W. Wegner, "Ein Demotischer Brief aus Tebtynis (P. Yale 4628 QUA)," *RdÉ* 60 (2009) 161, n. 7, for this expression and a selection of texts containing it.

while in the Greek receipts it is just one individual who was the recipient. In *P.Tebt.* 2.281, Marres son of Sochotes, a Souchos priest, farmed the tax. Some practices had changed over the centuries; in the Demotic receipts the charge was paid at the temple directly to the priesthood instead of going through a tax-farmer, although it is possible that the difference in how the impost was collected depends on how individual priesthoods organised this activity. It is possible that it was paid on certain dates, when the priests responsible for administering these payments, or at least for signing the receipts, were gathered.

6. Language and Identity

The receipts provide only sparse information on the identity of the payers, with the exception of *P.Tebt.* 2.281. Here the payer and procurer of the property, Sokonopis, son of Hachoes (Ἀχοῖς/*Hk3*), and the vendor, Phanesis, son of Peteharpsenesis are priests in the service of Soknebtunis, while the collector is a priest of Souchos.

None of the transacting parties attested in the Roman period receipts can be definitely attributed to any profession or to a particular class. Nevertheless, it is possible that the parties involved in *P.Zauz.* 59 and *P.Mich.* 5.235 were farmers, at least part time, because the vendor of the property, Harmais, called Pelkis, son of Harmais, is probably also attested as an imperial farmer in *P.Mich.* 5.244.⁴⁹ He may, however, have complemented his earnings through several additional means.⁵⁰ The same can undoubtedly be said about Psoiphis, son of Pahophis, who pays the tax for the vineyard in *P.Zauz.* 56. As for the others, those who acquired houses, any assumption regarding their professional status cannot reach beyond mere speculation. There is no evidence that the payers were (all) priests.

The Roman-era Demotic receipts from Tebtunis, which do not concern the tax under discussion (e.g. *P.Mil. Vogl.* 3 Dem. 2 and *P.Tebt. Botti* 3), were issued by the temple to other priests. The bilingual receipt PSI inv. 3049 (unpubl.) from the reign of Augustus is handed out by the temple to a group of men with Egyptian names (e.g. Sokonopis and Psenkebki), but nothing can be said about their identities. There is a Greek subscription to the receipt, which could indicate that at some stage the recipients were expected to interact with

⁴⁹ Winkler (n. 7) 159, n. 33.

⁵⁰ Under the Ptolemies, priests and soldiers are amply attested as farmers, and priests surely farmed lands in the Roman periods. But also other professional groups, such as weavers, are often involved in the agricultural sector (cf., e.g., K. Droß-Krüpe, *Wolle – Weber – Wirtschaft. Die Textilproduktion der römischen Kaiserzeit im Spiegel der papyrologischen Überlieferung* [Wiesbaden 2011] 231-232).

the state authorities, being able to show that they had fulfilled their part of the deal.⁵¹ Whether *P.Zauz.* 58, 60, and 61 were dispensed to other clerics is unknown, however.

That most receipts are issued in Demotic and not in Greek might be indicative of the identity of the recipient. At Thebes a stark decline in the number of Demotic receipts can be observed from the mid first century AD, although a few Demotic or bilingual receipts were still issued by either state or temple authorities after this time. Heilporn remarks that such receipts were handed out mostly to people who had a preference for that language, and, according to him, they would have been priests.⁵²

It is improbable that the same conditions apply to Tebtunis. If so, the Temple Tax on Property Transfer would have been yet another burden on the priests, imposed by their own corporation. In addition, it would suggest that the charge had changed from being a tax levied on transfer of property situated on the temple endowment (see sect. 5 above) to one collected from a particular class of people, when they acquired property, after the Roman annexation of Egypt. Furthermore, one of receipts shows that siblings could be charged by the temple for obtaining landed property (see sect. 2 above). It is of course not to be excluded that both belonged to the temple hierarchy,⁵³ but there is nothing that proves this and it could equally well be taken as an indication that anyone obtaining property situated on the “sacred revenues” had to pay (see sect. 4 above).

The Demotic receipts in *P.Dime* 2 are mostly written by priests for other priests or other functionaries of the sacred estate; they generally concern temple matters.⁵⁴ Lippert, however, sees an ethnic divide and takes the Demotic texts as indicating that the recipient was Egyptian and not necessarily of sacerdotal origin.⁵⁵ Although, it is unlikely that anyone outside priestly circles would have preferred to receive a receipt in Demotic, most people would have been unable to absorb any written information no matter which language was used.

⁵¹ Cf. the remarks by R. Mairs, “Bilingual ‘Tagging’ of Financial Accounts in Demotic and Greek,” *ZÄS* 139 (2012) 38–45.

⁵² Heilporn (n. 12) 133–150; cf. also M. Schentuleit, “Tradition und Transformation. Einblicke in die Verwaltung des römischen Ägypten nach den Demotischen Urkunden,” in Lembke, Minas-Nerpel, and Pfeiffer (n. 2) 358.

⁵³ See Colin (n. 39) 41–122 for priestesses in Roman Egypt.

⁵⁴ Cf. Lippert and Schentuleit (n. 6) 9–14. See the comment by J. Manning, *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt under the Ptolemies 305–30 BC* (Princeton 2010) 51.

⁵⁵ S.L. Lippert, “Seeing the Whole Picture: Why Reading Greek Texts from Soknopaiou Nesos is not Enough,” in T. Gagos (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology* (Ann Arbor 2010) 427–434.

Since Demotic was used when levies were made on property that fell under the temple's authority, it could arguably chose the language. Apparently the priests preferred to conduct their business in Demotic, at least when they issued receipts and as long as the state was not involved directly or when they were not dealing with people, who did not speak or understand the language.⁵⁶ This could explain the use of Egyptian; most possessors of such properties would have been priests or non-Greeks. It is possible therefore that the levy in effect affected the priesthood in particular, though that would not have been the original purpose of the tax (see sect. 2 above).

If the possessor of such property had been someone who did not speak Egyptian or preferred a receipt in Greek, he would probably have been able to obtain one in that language. This is at least indicated by *P.Tebt.* 2.281, although the receipt is undoubtedly issued by and to native speakers of Egyptian. It is possible that *BGU* 3.748 suggests the same (see sect. 10 below). That these two texts were not issued by the priesthood of Soknebtunis may also have influenced the choice of language. Whether literacy played a part here is not known; not all priests were capable of writing good Greek, but in general surely more so than most inhabitants of the town and no doubt many priests were also able to read and write Egyptian.⁵⁷ Had their proficiency in Greek been higher than that in Egyptian, one would have expected more such receipts in Greek.

7. Temple Lands and "Temple Taxes"

The petition *P.Tebt.* 2.302 (= *W.Chr.* 368) from AD 71/72 indicates that conditions had changed less drastically for the crocodile priests at Tebtunis than what is commonly assumed for most other localities after the Roman conquest. While the text has often been understood as evidence for the confiscation of all temple land by the state,⁵⁸ it has also been pointed out that the priests at Tebtunis kept some entitlements to a part of the sacred lands.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ That, for instance, *P.Tebt.* 2.309 and 2.310, two documents concerning the surrendering of priestly lands, are written in Greek may imply that the documents could be used by the recipient, if confronted by the state authorities.

⁵⁷ Cf. *P.Tebt.* 2.291; S. Sauneron, "Les conditions d'accès à la fonction sacerdotale à l'époque gréco-romaine," *BIFAO* 61 (1962) 55-57.

⁵⁸ Monson (n. 4) 131-141. See also Melaerts (n. 42) 235, n. 79.

⁵⁹ E.g. Monson (n. 41) 136-137; D. Rathbone, "Egypt, Augustus, and Roman Taxation," *CCG* 4 (1993) 83; see also n. 62 below. Already Johnson (n. 7) 122 and 639-645 observes this and discusses various sources of income for the Egyptian temples, including possession of lands and donations of estates. Note that *O.Petr.Mus.* 397 (= *O.Petr.* 190) from AD 1 concerning temple land of Heracles in the Thebaid mentioned by

Although they had to pay “rent” (ἐκφόριον) on it to the state, this was not a new phenomenon introduced by the Roman overlords; they already had to do this under the Ptolemies;⁶⁰ temple land was also then subject to a state tax (*md.t pr-ʿ3*).⁶¹

In writing to the prefect, the priests complain about the village scribe, who was trying to increase the rent on the nearly 500 *arourai* of agricultural land, which they cultivated. The priesthood claims that it had a hereditary and customary entitlement to farm the *arourai*, and that on favourable conditions, adding that they had these rights ever since the land confiscations initiated under the earlier prefect Petronius (24-22 BC). In the reforms, part of the temple estate, which had earlier enjoyed the status of hieratic land (ἱερὰ γῆ), was turned into public or crown land (βασιλικὴ γῆ).⁶² The text reveals that they were able to keep some of the temple land in place of receiving the priestly subvention, the so-called σύνταξις.⁶³ This event may also be referred

Johnson on p. 641 as an indication of Greek cults being unaffected by the confiscations in fact refers to fields of the Egyptian deity Chonsu (M.S. Funghi, G. Messeri, and C.E. Römer, *Ostraca greci e bilingui del Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 2 [Florence 2012] 493). This shows that some indigenous temples in other localities retained some of their lands after the confiscations, which supposedly occurred in the early years of Augustus’ reign and are referred to in, for instance, *BGU* 4.1200 (ca. 2/1 BC), *P.Oxy.* 4.721 (AD 15/6), and *P.Tebt.* 2.302. Other examples include O.Brit.Mus. EA 20145 (S.V. Wängstedt, “Demotische Steuerquittungen nebst Texten andersartigen Inhalts,” *OrSu* 16 [1967] 31-32) from year 15 BC, which shows that the temple of Amun at Thebes through its *lesonis* collected revenues on arable lands connected to the sacred estate after the confiscations.

⁶⁰ See Monson (n. 41) 174 and 184-185; cf. also Winkler (n. 38) 363 and 377-378.

⁶¹ For this tax, see K. Vandorpe, “The Ptolemaic Epigraphe or Harvest Tax (*shemu*),” *APF* 46 (2000) 197-199; W. Wegner, “Die privaten Geschäfte zweier Soknebtynis-Priester,” in Broux and Depauw (n. 38) 349-359, for this tax. See also Pestman (n. 39) 116-117.

⁶² For these categories, see Monson (n. 41) 77 and 94. Evans (n. 2) 243 and Monson (n. 4) 86 point out that the nearly 500 *arourai* by no means could have been the temple’s total landholding in the Ptolemaic period. The area is too small for a temple as prominent as that of Tebtunis. One might, however, assume that this was its total landholding under the Romans. The figure reoccurs in *SB* 26.16459.9 and 26.16460.3 (= *PSI* 10.1151 and 10.1152) from the second century AD.

⁶³ See, e.g., W. Huß, *Der makedonische König und die ägyptischen Priester. Studien zur Geschichte des ptolemäischen Ägypten* (Stuttgart 1994) 14, n. 6; B.C. McGing, “Syntaxis Payment to the Temple at Antiou,” in J. M. S. Cowey and B. Kramer (eds.), *Paramone. Editionen und Aufsätze von Mitgliedern des Heidelberger Instituts für Papyrologie zwischen 1982 und 2004* (Leipzig and Munich 2004) 84-86; A. Monson, “Receipts for Sitôñion, Syntaxis, and Epistatikon from Karanis: Evidence for a Fiscal Reform in Augustan Egypt,” *ZPE* 191 (2014) 215; Otto (n. 6) 366-384; Wallace (n. 7) 238-241; A.

to in *P.Tebt.* 2.298.58 (= *W.Chr.* 90), a so-called γραφή ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ⁶⁴ from the beginning of the second century (AD 108), and *SB* 26.16459.9 and 26.16460.3, two other documents of the same kind with a similar date.⁶⁵ These priestly *graphai* demonstrate that the temple still kept this land in the second century AD. In fact, as pointed out by Monson, several documents relating to hereditary leases (e.g. *P.Tebt.* 2.309 [AD 116/117] and 2.310 [AD 186], and *PSI* 10.1143 [AD 164])⁶⁶ indicate the same. This land was still partially administered by the temple; the priesthood had the entitlement to decide who had the right to cultivate it. *P.Tebt.* 2.302 further informs us that the revenues produced by these *arourai* were destined to support the priestly offices and the cult.⁶⁷

Privately owned sacred land is also frequently attested at Tebtunis (as well as in other localities) through, for instance, sales-contracts for such holdings (e.g. *P.Mich.* 5.254/5 and 2.256, *P.Kron.* 48 (= *P.Mich.* 5.260/1), and *P.Mich.* 5.263).⁶⁸ *P.Mich.* 2.121 (*verso* 7.8; 9.15; *recto* 4.5.2) furnishes further evidence

Winkler, "Collecting Income at Kerkesoucha Orous: New Light on P. Cairo II 30625," *JEA* 96 (2010) 169.

⁶⁴ See, e.g., T. Dousa, F. Gaudard, and J.H. Johnson, "P. Berlin 6848: A Roman Period Temple Inventory," in Hoffmann and Thissen (n. 7) 187-190, nn. 102-103 for a comprehensive bibliography on the topic. Add: Ch. Eckerman, "A Temple Declaration from early Roman Egypt," *BASP* 49 (2012) 55-62; A. Jördens, "Griechische Papyri in Soknopaiou Nesos," in Lippert and Schentuleit (n. 4) 50, n. 39; T. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung. Untersuchungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Ägyptens in der Zeit von Augustus bis Philippus Arabs (30 v. Chr. – 245 n. Chr.)* (Munich 2002) 711-716; A. Monson, "Priests of Soknebtunis and Sokonopis: P.BM. EA 10647," *JEA* 92 (2006) 208; *Id.* (n. 41) 214, n. 21.

⁶⁵ G. Messeri-Savorelli, "Bilancio in uscita del tempio Soknebtynis. Edizione di PSI X 1151 e 1152," *Analecta Papyrologica* 12 (2000) 163-177, esp. 171. See n. 62 above.

⁶⁶ Cf. Melaerts (n. 42) 241, n. 114; Monson (n. 41) 136-137; *Id.* (n. 4) 89. Monson (n. 41) 137, n. 159 adds that the same phenomenon can be seen in other localities as attested by, for instance, *P.Harris* 1.138 (J. Shelton, "A Renunciation of a Hereditary Lease at Parkerke," *ZPE* 77 [1977] 205-206) and *P.Petaus* 44.

⁶⁷ Jördens (n. 5) 340-341; Monson (n. 41) 136-137.

⁶⁸ Monson (n. 41) 138; *Id.* (n. 4) 86-87. It is possible that *P.Cair.* 3.50109 confirms privately held temple land in the Ptolemaic period at Tebtunis (cf. Winkler [n. 60] 390, n. 104). This fragmentary piece concerns inherited fields in the vicinity of the town. The reason why it is tempting to think of temple land depends on the fact that the text mentions a *ḥwt rsy* "southern domain," perhaps a religious edifice or similar. There is also a reference made to Soknebtunis; the divine epithet *nṯr* '3 "great god" is found in the text. What may militate against this interpretation, however, is the mention of fields of Tebtunis (*t3 sh.t T3-nb-t3-tny*), which could refer to another kind of agricultural lands; usually the temple estate would be referred to as *ḥtp-nṯr*, but the divine endowment could be situated on such areas, as attested in, for example, *P.Ackerpacht* 23.9-10 (C. J.

for short-term leases of temple land, which was probably held as private property. Not all holders of such lands seem to have been priests.

It is often assumed that the private temple land kept the designation “sacred” because taxes paid from it were transformed into the priestly subsidy mentioned above. In this connection, Monson has argued that the primary goal of the Roman land reforms was to convert institutionally owned grounds into public land, with the purpose of eliminating the temple as the administrator thereof. The individually held holdings situated on the temple estate, which were in the possession of priest or non-priest alike, were not appropriated by the state. These sacred lands were alienable by sale, donation, or inheritance, and therefore in effect private, and in the reforms they were converted into proper private land.⁶⁹

As mentioned above, the state collected a tax on the sacred land in both the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods. But the temple also collected its share on these lands; a “temple tax” (*md.t ḥw.t-ntr*) is mentioned in relation to fields situated on the temple endowment in *P.Cair.* 2.30630 (89 BC). This text is an exchange document, recording that two priests swapped their hereditary rights to such lands. The same charge is also found in *P.Tebt.Botti* 1 (AD 4), a short-term lease agreement between two priests on fields situated on temple land. In both instances, the person surrendering the field promises the recipient that there are no arrears in terms of the “temple tax,” or for that matter the state tax. The same charge is also encountered in the receipt *P.Zauz.* 61 (second century AD). Unfortunately, it is in a dismal condition. Besides the partially preserved introductory formula, only the name of the levy and what may be taken as divine epithet survives. But this is enough to establish the nature of the document.

Though the exact nature of the “temple tax” is unknown, it cannot be a charge imposed on the transfer of property. That would be an untenable interpretation in the Roman lease contract, and unlikely in the exchange contract; the *διδραχμία* was not the concern of the person who surrendered the property but the burden of the procurer. The alienating party was therefore not entitled to make such claims.⁷⁰ The “temple tax” is better understood as a rent paid to the temple; arrears of this kind could be transposed onto the new tenant or proprietor, whereas this is hardly the case for a harvest tax or similar. Thus the “temple tax” presents another source of income for the temple, and *P.Zauz.* 61

Martin, “A Demotic Land Lease from Philadelphia: P.BM. 10560,” *JEA* 72 (1986) 159-173 and *P.Brit.Mus.* EA 10648.2-3 (*Id.* [n. 12] 203).

⁶⁹ Monson (n. 41) 94 and 132-141.

⁷⁰ This fact explains why there is never any mention of this charge in sales contracts from the town; the vendor had nothing to do with the tax.

attests that it was still collected in the second century AD.⁷¹ But on what type of temple land it was charged is unclear. One can assume, however, that it was at least collected on lands still under the temple's control.

The outline of priestly lands above poses a model for the interpretation of the receipts for the Temple Tax on Property Transfer. It shows that the temple had access to agricultural land, which it partially could tax and administer. The situation to some extent resembles circumstances one or two centuries earlier, under the Ptolemies, and indicates a lesser degree of state interference at Tebtunis into the affairs of the temple than commonly presumed. Thus, in a parallel manner, it is reasonable to assume that the priests' rights to other revenues were also curtailed by the state in the Roman period to a lesser extent than hitherto thought.

P.Zauz. 56 was issued on the conveyance of a part of a vineyard, which in all probability was situated on temple lands, but whether the priests taxed grounds that were privately owned or surrendered on a hereditary lease is not stated, let alone indicated. All the receipt mentions before it breaks off is that the payer had remitted a payment for a share of a vineyard (see sect. 2 above). It is possible that each time any parcel of land situated in these areas changed possessor – not to say owner – the temple had the right to levy a transfer tax on the operation, but the present state of the evidence is not conclusive enough. It is possible that the tax burdened the privately owned temple land rather than grounds held on hereditary lease; a lease is not a proper transfer of property. Since the priests were allowed to tax property in the town (see sect. 8 below) that was not technically in the possession of the temple, it is not far fetched to assume the same for agricultural lands or at least for vineyards and gardens.

8. *In the Town*

By analogy to the situation described above, it may be argued that similar conditions applied to property in the settlement. If the priests were allowed to hold on to some of their rights to agricultural lands, the same can be anticipated for their entitlement to levy a transfer tax on houses and building places situated on the sacred revenues in the town.

The sources contradict any assumption that the tax would have been limited in range in the Roman period and, for instance, collected only on the transfer of possession rights to *pastophoria*;⁷² none of the properties described

⁷¹ Or does the tax have anything to do with the imposts discussed by Evans (n. 2) 269-270?

⁷² There are different terms that can be used for this particular habitation. Mostly *s.t* "place" was employed, but also 'wy "house" could be used to describe this building (see

in the receipts is situated close to the *peribolos* or any other part of the temple.⁷³ The archaeological evidence confirms the impression; the living quarters in, or next to, the temple precinct can only have neighbours on two sides, as confirmed by textual evidence, while the receipts in two cases (*P.Zauz.* 57 and 59) give four neighbours, which are all private domiciles.⁷⁴ The same impression emerges from *BGU* 3.748, which attests similar charges in the nome capital; the temple, which collected the *διδραχμία* there, could do so on property that was located in a different part of town than the sanctuary (see sect. 10 below).

It is apparent that any person who acquired a house, a lot of land, or similar, which was situated on grounds under the authority of the temple, had to pay this surcharge, which seems to be an appropriate description of the *διδραχμία*. Similar taxes were rarely charged elsewhere, and the levy implies a doubling of the “sales tax” compared with most other localities. Yet what percentage of the houses in the town was regarded as belonging to the “sacred revenues” is unknown. That Tebtunis in several texts is described as belonging to Souchos or Soknebtunis/Kronos (e.g. *P.Mich.* 5.226 and 5.253) is probably without significance; most settlements in the Fayum were ascribed to various forms of the god without a similar system in place.⁷⁵

9. The Archaeological and Archival Context

P.Tebt.Suppl. 1432 and *PSI inv. D* 106 were excavated at Tebtunis, the former by Grenfell and Hunt in 1899/1900, the latter by the Italian mission in 1931.⁷⁶ Though both pieces stem from controlled excavations, the exact find spot is not known. The same applies to *P.Zauz.* 58. It comes from the same

S. Thomas, “The Pastophorion: ‘Priest’s Houses’ in Legal Texts from Ptolemaic Pathyris and Elsewhere in Egypt,” *JEA* 99 [2013] 155 and 164). Cf. the property description in *P.Cair.* 2.30612, a conveyance of a *pastophorion* styled as a sale of a house.

⁷³ Cf. A. Passoni Dell’Aqua, “Ricerche sulla versione dei LXX e i papiri, I. Pastophorion,” *Aegyptus* 61 (1981) 181–192; G. Husson, *Oikia. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d’après les papyrus grecs* (Paris 1983) 221–223; Thomas (n. 72) 155–169, esp. 160, 163, n. 34, and 166–168. See also C.E. Holm, *Griechisch-ägyptische Namenstudien* (Uppsala 1936) 63.

⁷⁴ See V. Rondot, *Tebtynis II. Le temple de Soknebtynis et son dromos* (Cairo 2004), table 1.

⁷⁵ See H. Kockelmann, “Theophore Toponyme des Fayyûm – Wert und Bedeutung als Quellen für die Kult der Region,” in C. Arlt and M.A. Stadler (eds.), *Das Fayyûm in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit – Fallstudien zu multikulturellem Leben in der Antike* (Wiesbaden 2013) 83, n. 77.

⁷⁶ See I. Andorlini, “La collezione dei papiri dell’Istituto Papirologico ‘Girolamo Vitelli’ a Firenze,” in Hoffmann and Thissen (n. 7) 20; I. Begg, “‘It was Wonderful, Our

source as most of the texts from the locality kept by the Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli in Florence, while the parallel texts, *P.Zauz.* 56, 57, 60, 61, and 62, come from the antiquities market. Based on this information it is next to impossible to affix any clear archival context for these pieces.

P.Tebt. 2.280 and 2.281 were found together with *P.Cair.* 2.30620, which was part of the family archive of Hachoes, the father of Sokonopis, although he does not figure as an active participant in the Demotic papyrus.⁷⁷ Most of the papyri in which he or any of his family members appear were probably discovered at the same location. It can therefore be assumed that these texts were kept in a private family archive.

For the same reason, the Michigan pieces (*P.Zauz.* 59 and *P.Mich.* 5.235) have little to do with a priestly archival context, and they were certainly not kept by a governmental agency; the ἐγκύκλιον-tax receipt must be a copy of the original, because it does not carry the official stamp of the nomarch's office.⁷⁸ It has been assumed that they, like most Michigan papyri from Tebtunis, belonged to the *grapheion* archive of Kronion, son of Apion.⁷⁹ This is unlikely, however; the clerks of the scribal office did not write these documents. Since these papyri stem from a lot purchased at the antiquities market, texts from several origins may have been intermingled with the *grapheion* pieces. Accordingly, the most credible assumption would be that they once belonged to a private archive of the recipient. By analogy it would therefore be anticipated that the other papyri of this sort also once belonged to private archives.

Return in the Darkness with ... the Baskets of Papyrus! Papyrus Finds at Tebtunis from the Bagnani Archives, 1931-1936," *BASP* 35 (1998) 185-190; Botti (n. 8) 75.

⁷⁷ Sokonopis is a well-known figure in Ptolemaic Tebtunis and appears as a witness in *P.Ehev.* 7D (see n. 13) and *P.Ehev.* 8D/Z (= *P.Cair.* 2.30608/9) from 124 BC. He is possibly mentioned in *P.Cair.* 2.30612 (97 BC) (*contra* W. Clarysse and M. Depauw, "When a Pharaoh Becomes Magic," *CdÉ* 77 [2002] 59, n. 14, but see Monson [n. 4] 81, n. 12). His sister can be identified in *P.Cair.* 2.30617 (98 BC) and *P.Cair.* 2.30620 (100 BC), and a grandson may be attested as a witness in *P.Cair.* 2.30616 (49 BC).

⁷⁸ Some of the receipts of this kind found at Tebtunis are stamped (*P.Tebt.* 2.350, 2.580, and 2.587). Thus they are probably official copies of the original receipt.

⁷⁹ Boak, Edgerton, and Husselman (n. 7) 6, n. 12. For the *grapheion*, see Boak (n. 42) 1-6; Boak, Edgerton, and Husselman (n. 7) 1-22; E. Husselman, "Procedures of the Records Office of Tebtunis," in D.H. Samuel (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (Toronto 1970) 223-238; B.P. Muhs, "The Grapheion and the Disappearance of Demotic Contracts in Early Roman Tebtynis and Soknopaion Nesos," in Lippert and Schentuleit (n. 4) 98-102.

10. *The διδραχμία in Crocodilopolis*

The one example from the nome capital, *BGU* 3.748, stands out. It is written in Greek, records a levy on the ownership transfer of a house outside Tebtunis, and was pasted together with the receipt for the ἐγκύκλιον tax as well as an additional document, which today is lost. The papyri thus form a *tomos synkollesimos*, in which col. 2 is the receipt for the state tax and col. 3 concerns the temple dues.

One person, instead of the priesthood collectively, issued the διδραχμία receipt, a certain Thrasymachos, son of Melas, son of Maron. It might be presumed that he acted as the agent of the local Souchos temple. The receipt is issued to a certain Patunis, son of Hereumon, son of Patunis, who acquired a house situated in the quarter of Φρεμεί. Although the quarter of Φρεμεί is known to have housed a Soknopaïos sanctuary (e.g. *BGU* 13.2217 and 13.2218 and *SB* 10.10281 [= *PDavid* 1]),⁸⁰ it is clear that the monies were not destined for that sanctuary but enriched the coffers of the main temple in Crocodilopolis, which was situated in another part of the city (ἄμφοδον βουταφίου).⁸¹ Had any other deity than Souchos been implied, it would have been mentioned explicitly. The papyrus thus attests that two distinct sanctuaries had the possibility to the levy the charge under discussion in the Roman period, the Soknebtunis temple in Tebtunis and the Souchos temple in Crocodilopolis. In theory therefore such a tax could have existed in other localities as well.

That the receipt for the διδραχμία was pasted into a *tomos* might indicate that it was saved by the state administration for its records so as to keep control of the priesthood's revenues. That the state monitored the priesthood's fiscal affairs would not be surprising considering the presence of the priestly *graphai*, which the temple personnel had to compile and submit to the state on an annual basis in order to declare the members of the priesthood and the temple's inventories and sources of income and expenses.⁸² But the accompanying ἐγκύκλιον-tax receipt was issued by another institution, by the nomarch's office.⁸³ And the rolls under discussion were as a rule kept by the issuing agency.

Clarysse argues that the *tomos* mentioned above is a rare example of privately held receipts pasted together.⁸⁴ This assumption is modeled on the fact that the two receipts were issued by different agencies. The roll also seems to lack numbered pages, which should have been standard in an official docu-

⁸⁰ Rübsam (n. 7) 27.

⁸¹ Rübsam (n. 7) 35-36.

⁸² See n. 64 above.

⁸³ Reiter (n. 7) 223-224 and 263-265.

⁸⁴ Clarysse (n. 36) 355, nn. 63-64, and 357.

ment of this kind. Presumably therefore BGU 3.748 contained a private copy of the ἐγκύκλιον-tax receipt⁸⁵ in addition to the one for the διδραχμία.

Clarysse's suggestion makes sense in light of the evidence from Tebtunis. If the state indeed had an interest in checking these payments directly, they would have been compiled in Greek, or at least a copy or a subscription in Greek would have been present; purely Demotic documents were useless to the civic authorities and were therefore not pasted into a *tomos* for official use.

11. Economic Implications

The material presently available does not invite to any good assessment of the revenues of the temple from the διδραχμία. The reasons for this is that we do not know what percentage of the town's property was subject to the charge or on what parts of the temple estate it could be collected. *P.Zauz.* 56 poses the only attestation for a temple charge on property transfer on agricultural lands or at least garden land. Yet regarding the property in the town, it can at least be assumed that the sacred revenues of the temple were not confined to the areas closest to the temple; none of the houses in the receipts is situated next to the temple and in BGU 3.748 the property is even found in another part of the city than the temple benefitting from the impost. Referring to this one occurrence, Rübsam suggests that all transfers of property in the nome capital would have been subject to this tax.⁸⁶ This is doubtful, however.

One could argue that the incomes from the διδραχμία, if this source of income indeed had any larger bearing on the temple finances, would have left its mark in, for instance, *P.Tebt.* 2.294 (= *W.Chr.* 78), a second century AD application for purchasing the office of the prophet. A benefit that came with the title was the right to a fifth of the temple's revenues, which according to the document amounted to a total of 300 drachms, 250 *artabai* of wheat, and nearly 50 *artabai* of lentils annually.⁸⁷ Monson transform this total into a value of roughly 3,300 drachms.⁸⁸ This is a dismal quantity for a temple of this size, but Evans points out that the sums need not to represents the total incomes of the priests; most sacred emoluments would have been regarded as private and were thus not included.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Several of the receipts for the state tax on property transfer found as parts of dossiers or archives are stamped, although, for instance, *P.Mich.* 5.235 is not.

⁸⁶ Rübsam (n. 7) 27.

⁸⁷ Evans (n. 2) 214-215.

⁸⁸ Monson (n. 41) 222-223.

⁸⁹ It may be noted that the expenditures in the *graphai* surpass the incomes mentioned by *P.Tebt.* 2.294, though the figures are still far from giving the impression of an affluent

Given the amounts that are attested for even a single transaction, for instance, 60 drachms for half a house in the case of *P.Zauz.* 59,⁹⁰ only one sale would have had a noticeable impact on the profits mentioned in *P.Tebt.* 2.294. This circumstance therefore bars any assumption that revenues from any of the discussed taxes were included in these figures. Since the representatives of the priests levied the impost, it is difficult to picture that the profits would have been considered as private, however. But the fact that it is not mentioned in the papyrus may perhaps suggest that the proceeds from the levies collected by the temple were not regarded as a common of this institution as a whole and therefore not included.

Another circumstance impairing any evaluation of the fiscal effects of the *διδραχμία* is the fact that it is not attested in the priestly *graphai* from Tebtunis. Neither is there any preserved mention of the temple's "sacred revenues" in these texts.⁹¹ It may be argued, however, that the levies would have been registered there but are now lost in lacunae; all texts of this kind from the town are in a dismal state of preservation. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that part of the temple's proceeds could have been exempt from the obligation of being reported to the state.⁹² If so, it is plausible that the taxes under discussion would have been of such nature. The fact that some of the temple's income was administered in Demotic may favour this interpretation.

12. Conclusion

It would be imprudent to conduct any serious statistical analysis from the material discussed above; it is scant and not enough survives to allow any reliable evaluation. Similar exercises are not unfamiliar to students of the ancient world, however. Thus far only four proper Roman *ἐγκύκλιον*-tax receipts, which are issued by state officials in Crocodilopolis and relate to the transfer of landed property in Tebtunis, have been published: *P.Tebt.* 2.350, 2.580, and 2.587 and *P.Mich.* 5.235. To these two receipts dispensed by local authorities at Tebtunis can probably be added: *P.Tebt.* 2.351, which records two transactions, a donation of a house and a sale of a bakery, and *P.Mich.* 5.236, a text of unclear nature.⁹³ Consequently there are a total of five, possibly six, receipts of this kind.

institution (Messeri-Savorelli [n. 65] 165-166 and 173-174).

⁹⁰ Winkler (n. 7) 159-60. The sum is attested in the connected *ἐγκύκλιον*-tax receipt *P.Mich.* 5.235.

⁹¹ Cf. the explicit reference to the surveillance of priestly incomes (*ἱεραὶ πρόσοδοι*) in SB 6.9335 from Bacchias (see Kruse [n. 64] 713 for this particular text).

⁹² Messeri-Savorelli (n. 65) 166.

⁹³ See n. 42 above for these two texts.

It might therefore seem remarkable that there are at least four receipts, possibly five, on a Temple Tax on Property Transfer from the same period and locality (see table 1). In addition, there is one Ptolemaic example of each (see table 1 and 2). If the source foundation had been larger, the ratio between both taxes would suggest that the διδραχμία was nearly as common as the ἐγκύκλιον on *res immobiles* in Roman Tebtunis.

Nonetheless, since the tax was charged on the temple estate, it probably affected the priests disproportionately; they would have been the main proprietors of such holdings, at least originally. In spite of this, the charge still benefited the collective, the priesthood, or part thereof, on the expense of the individual who owned property on the sacred estate.

In conclusion, fiscal conditions of the crocodile priesthood as a collective at Tebtunis and perhaps in some other localities as well had changed to the negative less drastically than much scholarly literature suggests. The temple still had access to parts of the agricultural lands on the temple domain, the right to tax these as well as transfers of landed property in the town and the surrounding countryside. The texts further show that the sanctuary participated in the economic life of the village two centuries after the country was annexed by Rome. Though a slow decline of the temple's economy cannot be denied, much work remains to be done in re-evaluating this process. One thing seems sure, however, just like Rome was not built in a day, the fiscal standing of the Egyptian temple under the Caesars was not brought to naught in an instant or even in a single century.

The Woeful Adventures of a Small Greek Papyrus from Elephantine¹

Eddy Lanciers *KU Leuven*

Abstract

The personal names in SB 1.5316 show that the papyrus comes from Elephantine. It was probably purchased by an agent of the British Consul General Henry Salt in 1817 or 1818.

In memory of Leon Mooren

In 1994 Katelijn Vandorpe coined the term “museum archaeology” to describe the rather tedious task of analysing museum inventories to reconstruct papyrus archives.² Only rarely does a papyrologist, while trying to retrace the provenance of an ancient papyrus, get the feeling that he (or she) is indeed walking in the footsteps of Indiana Jones (or Hercule Poirot for that matter). In this short note, I will elaborate on one such instance.

Late spring 1818 the eminent scholar Thomas Young was sitting in his study, painstakingly copying the Greek signs on a small scrap of papyrus and comparing them to the characters on the *Charta Borgiana*, published by Schow in 1788. About his investigations he reported in a letter of 8 June 1818 to Taylor Combe, the Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London³:

¹ I want to thank Cillian O’Hogan (British Library, Curator of Classical and Byzantine Studies) who provided a photograph of the papyrus as well as an excerpt from the volume “Transcripts of Papyri,” and Willy Clarysse (KU Leuven) who discussed the document with me and proposed some new readings.

² K. Vandorpe, “Museum Archaeology or How to Reconstruct Pathyris Archives,” in E. Bresciani (ed.), *Acta Demotica: Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists, Pisa, 4th-8th September 1993* (Pisa 1994) 289-300 (= *EVO* 17 [1994]). Cf. K. Vandorpe and S. Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris’ Archives: A Multicultural Community in Hellenistic Egypt* (Brussels 2009) 65-79.

³ See *Archæologia* 19 (1821) 156-157 and pl. IX.1. The full title of the note is “Observations on a Fragment of a very ancient Greek Manuscript on Papyrus, together with some Sepulchral Inscriptions from Nubia, lately received by the Earl of Mountnorris;

The fragment of papyrus contains eight parallel and equidistant lines of the original manuscript, with five interlineations in a different hand, apparently unconnected with them, and consisting chiefly of numbers, with some abbreviated words. It is a sort of genealogy, perhaps the beginning of a deed.

Young continues with a discussion of the date of the document:

... if Schow was right in considering the Borgian manuscript as of the second century, we must refer this fragment to the same period⁴

and he further adds some remarks regarding the provenance of the papyrus:

It was sent over from Egypt by Mr. Salt, together with a variety of other remains of antiquity, many of them extremely interesting, but without any account of the place in which it was found.

The papyrus most likely arrived at the British Museum in 1852 (see below p. 272) and was registered under inventory number 75. Frederic George Kenyon provided a short description and a first transcription of the text, which remains unpublished.⁵ He described the contents of the document as follows:

The following document appears to be a fragment of a list of names of persons with sums of money appended to their names, presumably as a register of some species of taxation ... The fragment is too small to enable us to judge accurately of the character of the document. The writing appears to be of the 2nd century of our era.

He refuted Young's opinion about the existence of two unconnected sections in the document:

This does not seem probable, and the handwriting seems to be the same throughout (though Dr Young did not think so). The writing of figures is generally more irregular than that of words, and this is sufficient to explain the somewhat uneven appearance of the document which led Dr Young to his belief.

in a Letter from THOMAS YOUNG, M. D. F. R. S. addressed to TAYLOR COMBE, Esq. F.R.S. Director. Read 11th June, 1818." The text is reprinted – without the title and the plates – in J. Leith (ed.), *Miscellaneous Works of the Late Thomas Young, M. D. F. R. S., &c.*, Vol. III. *Hieroglyphical Essays and Correspondence, &c.* (London 1855) 201-206.

⁴ Young's opinion on the date was later confirmed by F.G. Kenyon (see below) and K. Wessely, *Wiener Studien* 12 (1890) 97: "Schrift des I.-II. Jahrh. n. Chr."

⁵ His draft is preserved in the volume "Transcripts of Papyri" (folio 38), which is now in the British Library.

In 1890 the papyrus was finally edited by Karl Wessely.⁶ The text was briefly mentioned but not incorporated in the first volume of the London papyri, published by Kenyon in 1893 (*PLond.* 1, p. XVII, no. 75 “Fragment of assessment”). Wessely’s text, with some corrections by Friedrich Preisigke, was reprinted in 1915 as *SB* 1.5316, under the heading “Rechnung.” In the *Sammelbuch* the text is presented as follows:⁷

τοῦ Πετραμενούφως μητρὸς Τιση[
 λογ̄ καὶ ∫ δγ' Παῦνι κδ̄
 ὑπε/ τοῦ πρεσβ Παισαῖτος μητρὸς Θινπόσιος [
 ... λογ̄ καὶ γ' Ἀμμονιεῖο(υ) [
 5 Πετραμενούφως τοῦ Πετεπουήρεως μητ(ρὸς) ... [
 Πετεπουήρ[εω]ς τοῦ Πετρεαμυθ() μητρὸς [
 λογ̄ καὶ ∫ δγ' [
 [Πε]τραμενούφως [
 []απ ιᾱ ∫ δ
 10 []ρου[
 []ομιτνεως [
 []ων ο ᾱ λογ̄ ∫ γ' λογ̄ καὶ ∫ δ [
]

As a result of the British Library Act of 1972 the papyrus was ultimately moved from the British Museum to the manuscripts collection of the British Library.

The question of the provenance of the papyrus remains unsolved. In my opinion the onomastic data contained in the document provide strong indications for its origin.

(1) The personal name which appears in ll. 1, 5, and 8 of the document was read as Πετραμενούφως by Wessely.⁸ Πετραμένουφως is regarded as a Greek variant of the Egyptian name *P3-di-Īry-hms-nfr* (Petereansnuphis: “He who was given by Arensnuphis”) which only appears in our document, and in which the absence of a *sigma* in the Greek name is explained by the fact that it

⁶ See n. 4.

⁷ The layout of the text as printed in Wessely’s edition and in the *Sammelbuch* does not always reflect the actual disposition of the characters: the word recognised as Ἀμμονιεῖο(υ) is in fact written between lines 4 and 5. In *Trismegistos* the text appears under www.trismegistos.org/text/26063.

⁸ For some obscure reason he read the name as Μετραμενούφως in l. 1, but this was corrected by Preisigke in *SB* 1.5316. Both Young (n. 3) and Kenyon (n. 5) have πατρ Αμενουφως.

derives from an alternative Egyptian writing of the name as *P3-di-Ỉry-Ỉm-nfr*.⁹ However, in all three cases the writing of the name is unclear and only about π . τ ρ . . . νουφεως there can be no doubt. Judging from the microfilm and photograph he had at his disposal, Willy Clarysse does not exclude the reading πατρανσνουφεως,¹⁰ Πατράνσνουφίς being a more common Greek transcription of the name *P3-di-Ỉry-Ỉms-nfr*. Whatever the correct reading may be, personal names compounded with the name of the god Arensnuphis are only attested in an area between Nubia in the south and Thebes in the north, with the largest concentration in the Dodekaschoinos, especially in Elephantine and Philae.¹¹

(2) Πετεπούηρις (ll. 5, 6) is a transcription of the Egyptian name *P3-di-p3-wr* ("He who was given by the Great One"). Whereas the name *P3-wr* appears in several places in Upper-Egypt (Thebes, Hermonthis, Pathyris, Dendera, Edfu, Elephantine, Philae),¹² the use of *P3-di-p3-wr*/Πετεπούηρις (and variants) is somewhat surprisingly restricted to a much smaller area. The name is to date attested 24 times in the *Trismegistos* database, and mainly appears in Hiera Sykaminos, Dakka, Philae, and Elephantine.¹³ It also occurs in an inscription from Gebel el-Silsile, but the local quarries may of course have been visited by people from the area of the first cataract.¹⁴ The reference to a *P3-di-p3-wr* in Thebes is doubtful: in *O.Tempeleide*, p. 391, nr. *DO L* 8004 from Thebes, U. Kaplony-Heckel suggests *P3-tw-p3-wr* (?), but the question mark shows her hesitation. There is, however, an isolated attestation of the name in a document

⁹ H. De Meulenaere, *CdÉ* 52 (1977) 250. For the use of both writings of the name in hieroglyphic texts, see also E. Winter, *RdÉ* 25 (1973) 244-247.

¹⁰ Cillian O'Hogan, whom we consulted in this matter, writes: "...it is very difficult to make much out even looking at the papyrus itself – but I think it could be possible to see αὐσ instead of αὐε in line 5 – I can't make much out of lines 1 and 8 however" (e-mail 16 January 2015).

¹¹ The references for the name *P3-di-Ỉry-Ỉms-nfr* can be found under www.trismegistos.org/name/836 (last accessed 1 December 2014); *DNB* 288-289.

¹² See www.trismegistos.org/name/936 (last accessed 1 December 2014); *DNB* 176-177.

¹³ The references are collected under www.trismegistos.org/name/7923 (last accessed 1 December 2014); cfr. *DNB* 305.

¹⁴ *I.Thèbes à Syène* 115 (first century CE): Petepoeris is the son of Psansnos, a name which was not uncommon in Elephantine (www.trismegistos.org/name/953; *DNB* 216-217).

from Pathyris.¹⁵ It is possible that the geographically restricted use of *P3-di-p3-wr* is related to the local worship of a deified human called *P3-wr*.¹⁶

(3) The feminine name Θῖνποσις is a hapax (l. 3). The element Θῖν- is the Greek transcription of Egyptian *T3-šr.t-n* ("The daughter of"), which could also be rendered in Greek as Σεν-. The use of the names with Θῖν- is confined to the area of Elephantine and Aswan, where it appears alongside the Σεν-forms.¹⁷ In the Theban region only the Σεν-names are found.¹⁸

(4) The name Πετρεαυθ() in l. 6 is not attested elsewhere and is in fact a ghost name. On a microfilm of the papyrus Willy Clarysse read Παπρεμειθ(ου), a variant of the name Παπρεμιθης¹⁹ (*Pa-p3-r3-mḥt*, "The one of the northern gate"²⁰). Nearly all documents containing this name (98 out of 103) come from Elephantine or Aswan. Although the name is also attested once in Dakke and once on the island of Bigga,²¹ the three remaining texts with an unknown provenance are probably also related to Elephantine.²² The use of the feminine name Σενπαπρεμιθης or Θῖνπαπρεμιθης (*T3-šr.t-n-Pa-p3-r3-mḥt*, "The

¹⁵ U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Enchoria* 22 (1995) 83, no. 61, l. 13 (cf. l. 27).

¹⁶ We thank an anonymous referee for this suggestion. For *P3-di*-names referring to deified humans, see G. Jennes and M. Depauw, *CdÉ* 87 (2012) 117; for the worship of such "saints," see in general A. von Lieven, "Deified Humans," in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3kk97509>).

¹⁷ Cf. J. Quaegebeur, *CdÉ* 46 (1971) 166; Id., *Onoma* 18 (1974) 410; H. De Meulenaere, *CdÉ* 75 (2000) 239.

¹⁸ Illustrative in this respect is for instance the name *T3-šr.t-n-pa-hnm* ("The daughter of The One of Chnum"; www.trismegistos.org/name/12067): all five attestations of Θῖνπαχνοῦμις come from Elephantine, while Σενπάχνουμις appears solely in Thebes.

¹⁹ The same writing is found in *O. Wilck.* 148.3-4 (Aswan, 129 CE): Παπρεμειθου.

²⁰ On this name, see J. Quaegebeur, in C. Cannuyer and J.-M. Kruchten (eds.), *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte. Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès* (Ath, Brussels, Mons 1993) 211-214.

²¹ See www.trismegistos.org/name/10415 (last accessed 1 December 2014); *DNB* 390. Cfr. H. Cadell, *P.Coll. Youtie* 1, pp. 336-337.

²² It concerns three ostraca from the Brooklyn Museum (a collection which harbours several Greek ostraca from Elephantine): *P.Brookl.* 5, 87, and 175 descr. The papyrus *P.Brookl.* 5 (with *P.Brookl.* 17 written on the verso) was purchased in Aswan in 1882 (see *P.Brookl.*, p. 28). The name Παρζμητῶ(τος) in the ostrakon *P.Brookl.* 87.6 contains the element ζμητ, the Greek rendering of *Ns-(p3-)mt(r)*, "He belongs to the staff": see H. De Meulenaere, *CdÉ* 75 (2000) 236-237; J.-L. Fournet, *APF* 60 (2014) 247. The "staff" in question is the sacred emblem of the god Chnum, and personal names referring to this object come predominantly from the area of Elephantine: www.trismegistos.org/name/194; *DNB* 664-666. For *P.Brookl.* 175 descr. there is, except for the name Papremithes, no additional argument to determine the provenance.

daughter of Papremithes”) is equally restricted to Elephantine.²³ Papremithes only appears in a period of circa 150 years between 73/74 CE (*SB* 1.1924) and 227 CE (*O. Wilck.* 282).²⁴ This supports Young’s opinion that our papyrus was written in the second century CE.

Considering all the onomastic information,²⁵ our papyrus in all likelihood comes from the southern border region, and most probably from Elephantine, since in the other above mentioned places in Nubia and the Dodekaschoinos no papyri, but only ostraca, graffiti and inscriptions were discovered.

After nearly two hundred years Thomas Young’s question about the origin of the papyrus thus seems to be finally answered. We can even reconstruct how the document came to England. As mentioned by Young, the papyrus was dispatched from Egypt by Henry Salt, the British Consul General in Cairo in the years 1816-1827; in 1818 it had entered the antiquities collection of Georges Annesley, the 2nd Earl of Mountnorris (1770-1844), a former employer of Salt.²⁶ This information can be related to a story in J.J. Halls’ biography of Salt, published in 1834²⁷:

Almost immediately after his arrival in Egypt in 1816, Mr. Salt began to form a collection of antiquities for the Earl of Mountnorris, in

²³ See www.trismegistos.org/name/12058. *P.Brookl.* 43 may certainly be attributed to Elephantine-Aswan on the basis of the filiation Πάσθινις Παχομπασθίνιο(ς) μη(τρὸς) Σενπαπρεμίθου: not only Σενπαπρεμίθης, but also Πάσθινις is only attested in this area (www.trismegistos.org/name/10437; *DNB* 414).

²⁴ *O.Leid.* 285, where the name Papremithes appears in ll. 9 and 14, is regarded as a document from the Ptolemaic period by its editors. However, the name Σεργῆνος (ll. 7, 22) leaves no doubt about a Roman date. In fact a date in the second or third century CE was already proposed by the first editor P.J. Sijpesteijn, *OMRO* 45 (1964) 77-78 (see also *SB* 10.10364).

²⁵ No suggestions can be made for the doubtful readings Τιση[(l.1) and Παισᾶτος (l. 3). Ἀμμονιεῖο(υ) in l. 4 is regarded in *SB* 2 (p. 206) as a personal name in the genitive case (without a suggestion for the nominative). The hypothetical personal name Ἀμμονιεῖος is, however, nowhere attested, nor is Ἀμμωνιεῖος. Furthermore, Wessely’s reading and Preisigke’s supplement are probably wrong: only αμυν . . ις can with some certainty be recognized on the microfilm. Kenyon (n. 5) read Ἀμενηνις.

²⁶ See n. 3 on the ownership of the papyrus. Salt was hired in 1802 by Georges Annesley (Viscount Valentia) as his secretary and draughtsman and accompanied him on his travels to the East: see George, Viscount Valentia, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, The Red Sea, Abyssinnia, and Egypt, in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*, 3 vols. (London 1809).

²⁷ J.J. Halls, *The Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt, Esq. F.R.S. &c, his Britannic Majesty’s Late Consul General in Egypt*, 2 vols. (London 1834) (This work can be consulted online via www.archive.org.)

which undertaking he was more successful than he had at first anticipated. With the assistance of a Mr. Riley, whom he employed as his agent in the following spring in the upper country, he procured a number of very curious specimens, which were afterwards forwarded to his lordship [...] (vol. 1, p. 486).

When they left Egypt they were in excellent condition, and had been brought with great trouble and expense from Nubia and Thebes. (vol. 1, p. 487)

Unfortunately, during a stopover in Malta, the cases containing Salt's antiquities were opened and their contents roughly treated, as Salt himself explains in a letter to the Earl of Mountnorris:

Many of the best of my small figures are broken to pieces, most of the papyri ground to dust [...] and when I found six papyri under the sphinx, which had been entire, but were now ground to pieces, you may easily fancy the little respect they paid to the content of my cases. (vol. 1, p. 488)

This account shows that Salt's agent Riley travelled into Nubia to collect antiquities, which is confirmed by the fact that in addition to our papyrus several tombstones from Kalabsha (about 50 km south of Elephantine) were also in the possession of the Earl of Mountnorris in 1818.²⁸ It is, therefore, probable that Riley on his voyage to Nubia halted in Elephantine, the gateway to Nubia, and acquired our document.²⁹ In the same years (1815-1819) other papyri from Elephantine – in Demotic and Aramaic script – were sold to Giovanni Battista Belzoni.³⁰

At first sight there seems to be a chronological problem with our reconstruction: Salt's letter to the Earl of Mountnorris with the account of the damage that occurred to his antiquities at Malta dates from 26 September 1818 (J.J. Hall, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 487), whereas Thomas Young studied the papyrus at

²⁸ They are discussed in Young's letter mentioned in n. 3 (157-159).

²⁹ On 21 June 1826 Lord Mountnorris presented to the Royal Society of Literature "a collection of inscriptions copied in Egypt by Mr. Salt, His Majesty's Consul General"; this collection contained "Copies of some Greek inscriptions upon fragments of pottery found in the island of Elephantina" (*The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 18 [1826] 330). It is not clear when these Greek ostraca were discovered or how they came into Salt's possession.

³⁰ B. Porten, *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change* (Leiden, New York, Cologne 1996) 1.

the latest on 8 June of that year. However, in his letter Salt refers to a previous message:

I have written you a long letter by Malta, addressed to the Foreign Office, containing a list of all your articles, and a full explanation of the circumstances attending the same, which I doubt not will prove satisfactory. (vol. 1, p. 487)

Apparently no one was aware of the deplorable state the antiquities were in before they were unpacked in England:

[...] very few of them were found in a perfect state, which occasioned no small degree of chagrin to his lordship, and to those who were present at the unpacking of the cases. The circumstance was, however, afterwards fully explained by Mr. Salt, who was informed by his agent, Mr. Dennisson at Malta [...] (vol. 1, p. 486)

We may surmise that Thomas Young laid eyes on the papyrus immediately upon its arrival in England, and may even have been one of “those who were present at the unpacking of the cases.” Only after the unpacking, investigations on the causes of the damage seem to have started, which resulted in Salt’s first letter to the Earl and ultimately in his second letter from 26 September 1818. The fate which occurred to Salt’s shipment in Malta may have contributed to the present fragmentary state of our papyrus: the scrap has a height of only 11 and a width of 15 cm.³¹

The 2nd Earl of Mountnorris died childless in 1844; his residence Arley Hall in Upper Arley (Worcestershire) and his antiquities collection were inherited by his nephew Arthur Lyttelton Annesley. On the basis of Wessely’s note “Papyrus Mountnorris v. December 1852,”³² we may assume that the document entered the British Museum at the end of 1852. We know that Arthur Lyttelton Annesley donated or sold six other papyri from the collection of the late Earl to the British Museum in 1853³³: EA 9979 (Amduat); EA 10088 (Book of the Dead of *T3-nt-Dḥwti*); EA 10734 (Book of the Dead of *Ḥr-m-3ḥ-bjt*); EA 9907 (Book of the Dead of *P3-di-Ḥr-p3-R^c*); EA 10539 + 10700 + 10733 (Book of the Dead of *P3-di-Imn-nb-nst-t3wi*); and EA 10443 (Demotic papyrus). The funerary papyri, some of which are also in a very fragmentary state, come from

³¹ Measurements given by C. Wessely (n. 4) 97.

³² C. Wessely (n. 4) 97.

³³ For objects in the British Museum previously owned by the 2nd Earl of Mountnorris, see the online catalogue http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?people=101492&peoA=101492-3-18 (last accessed 1 December 2014).

Thebes and confirm the statement that Riley purchased antiquities there. It is unfortunately impossible to determine the origin of the Demotic papyrus; the information in the manuscript catalogue of Thompson is very concise: “4 ll. apparently complete, badly written & in poor condition. Contents obscure.”³⁴

“In poor condition and contents obscure”: This description also fits *SB* 1.5316. Nevertheless, this document is not without interest, since it certainly was one of the first papyri to enter a European collection, decades before organised papyrus-hunting began. Furthermore, it was studied by some of the most famous pioneers of modern Egyptology and papyrology. From the sun-drenched ruins of Elephantine to Salt’s residence in Cairo, from the waters of the Nile to the harbours of Malta and further on to the cold North Sea, from the mansion of the Earl of Mountnorris and the hands of Thomas Young to the British Museum and the hands of Karl Wessely, ... to finally sink in near oblivion for more than a century³⁵; such was the unhappy fate of this tiny Greek papyrus from Elephantine.

³⁴ The reference can be found via the link in the previous note.

³⁵ The state of oblivion is best illustrated by the way the fragment is described in the present online catalogue of the British Library (www.bl.uk; search for “papyrus 75,” under “catalogues,” “manuscripts,” “archives and manuscripts”; last accessed 1 December 2014): “FRAGMENT of a Greek Papyrus, containing a sort of genealogy, perhaps the beginning of a deed; probably of the second century”: nearly exactly the words used by Young in 1818!

The Prefecture of Caecilius Consultius

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Abstract

This article argues that *P.Stras.* 6.560, the only papyrus recording the tenure of Caecilius [Cons]ultius as *praefectus Aegypti*, should be dated to 28 September/27 October 326 CE.

Caecilius [Cons]ultius, *praefectus Aegypti*, is the recipient of a petition from Aurelius Neilammon alias Hierax, originally dated by the editor to ca. 325 CE.¹ Neilammon is well attested as a prominent resident of Hermopolis in the late third and early fourth centuries.² In 326, he was a member of the city council of Hermopolis and a *syndikos*.³ In the petition, Neilammon writes to the prefect to complain about the behaviour of a certain Asklepiades, who forced him to write out an acknowledgement of debt against his will.

Caecilius [Cons]ultius is himself otherwise unattested as *praefectus Aegypti*, but the papyrus contains several crucial clues which can assist us in determining the date of his governorship.⁴ In the petition to the prefect, Neilammon refers to two witnesses, Fla(vius) Heron “of the law” (τοῦ νομοῦ) and Apollonios, an *officialis*.⁵ The use of the *nomen* Flavius as a status designation strongly suggests a date following the defeat of Licinius in September 324. After

¹ *P.Stras.* 6.560. The primary discussions of [Cons]ultius’ tenure are: R.A. Coles, “Caecilius [Cons]ultius, *Praefectus Aegypti*,” *BASP* 22 (1976) 25-27; A.J.B. Sirks, “Aurelius Neilammon alias Hiërax and Caecilius [Cons]ultius, Prefect of Egypt, in a Case of Extortion (*P. Strasb.* VI 560),” *Tyche* 10 (1995) 179-184. Sirks’ article contains an updated edition of the papyrus with corrections, which is used in the present article. All dates are CE.

² *P.Stras.* 6.555, 556, 557, 576, 619, 672.

³ *P. Stras.* inv. 1265 + *P.Stras.* 4.296 = SB 18.14056. For Neilammon’s career and family, see B. Kramer, “*P. Strasb.* inv. 1265 + *P. Strasb.* 296 recto: Eingabe wegen ἀνδραποδισμός (= *Plagium*) and σύλησις (= *Furtum*),” *ZPE* 69 (1987) 143-161, at 147-148.

⁴ Coles (n. 1) 25 restores his *cognomen* as [Cons]ultius, pointing out that it is the only such name ending in -ultius in I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965) 250. Even then, Consultius is only attested once, as a *signum* for L. Titinius Clodianus (*AE* 1917/18, 85). The restoration [Cons]ultius must therefore remain tentative.

⁵ *P.Stras.* 6.560, col. iii, l. 21.

this point, Constantine assumed control of all of his rival's eastern territories, including Egypt.⁶

In 314/315, Licinius divided the province of *Aegyptus* into two new administrative regions, *Aegyptus Iovia* and *Aegyptus Herculia* (subsequently renamed *Aegyptus Mercuriana*), each under the control of a *praeses*.⁷ After taking control of Egypt in late 324, Constantine reunited these provinces, once again placing them under the command of one *praefectus Aegypti*. This provides a *terminus post quem* for [Cons]ultius' tenure.

The *terminus ante quem* for his prefecture is October/November 327, when Septimius Zenius is attested as governor.⁸ From Zenius' tenure until 339, we know the names of all prefects of Egypt. After 339, the post of *praefectus* was held by administrators with the rank of λαμπρότατος (*clarissimus*).⁹ Since [Cons]ultius is addressed as διασημώτατος (the Greek equivalent of *perfectissimus*), his tenure cannot be placed after this date.¹⁰ He must therefore have been in office as *praefectus Aegypti* between late 324 and late 327.¹¹

The following *praefecti Aegypti*, apart from Caecilius [Cons]ultius, are attested in the period between Fall 324 and Fall 327:¹²

January/February 325 – 2 October 325: Flavius Magnus¹³

2 February 326: Flavius Laetus¹⁴

October/November 327 – 6 April 329: Septimius Zenius¹⁵

⁶ Sirks (n. 1) 184. See J.G. Keenan, "The names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33-63, at 46-48, who notes that the first attested example of Flavius occurs in January 325.

⁷ For this reconstruction of the provincial divisions, see T.D. Barnes, "Emperors, Panegyrics, Prefects, Provinces and Palaces," *JRA* 9 (1996) 532-552, at 549. Cf. J.D. Thomas, "Sabinianus, *praeses* of Aegyptus Mercuriana?" *BASP* 21 (1984) 225-234, who argues that Herculia and Mercuriana were separate provinces.

⁸ *P.Harr.* 2.215.

⁹ T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, MA 1981) 151.

¹⁰ *P.Stras.* 6.560, col. I, l. 1.

¹¹ Coles (n. 1) 25 suggests a further dating criterion, namely that the Asklepiades of the petition is identical with the *logistes* of Hermopolis in 325 (*P.Stras.* 3.138, SB 6.9558). However, Sirks (n. 1) 182-183 demonstrates that this is improbable on jurisdictional grounds and that Asklepiades was a resident of Alexandria.

¹² Cf. the most recent list of prefects for this period compiled by T.D. Barnes, "The Exile and Recalls of Arius," *JThS* n.s. 60 (2009) 109-129, at 115, which omits Flavius Magnus.

¹³ *P.Oxy.* 54.3756-3759.

¹⁴ *P.Oxy.* 51.3620.

¹⁵ *P.Harr.* 2.215; SB 18.13260; *P.Oxy.* 43.3126, 60.4079-80; Athanasius, *Festal Letter* 1, ed. A. Camplani, *Anastasio di Alessandria: Lettere Festali; Anonimo, Indice delle Lettere*

C. Vandersleyen proposes that a further prefect of *perfectissimus* rank, Aurelius Apion, should be dated to the years 324/327.¹⁶ However, given the number of prefects that need to be accommodated in these years, this date now seems unlikely. Instead, Apion is most likely to be an early fourth-century governor, who was in office before Licinius' division of the province.¹⁷

Where, then, does Caecilius [Cons]ultius fit into this scheme? Aurelius Neilammon's petition to the prefect records that he was pressured by Asklepiades to write out an acknowledgement of debt "on the 16th of the month of Thoth now past [[of the present consulate]]" (κατὰ τὴν ις τοῦ [π]αρελθόντος) μηνὸς Ὠῶθ [[τῆς νυνὶ ὑπ(α)τείας]]).¹⁸ The month of Thoth ran from 29 August to 27 September, which means that Neilammon probably petitioned the prefect in the following month of Phaophi, between 28 September to 27 October.¹⁹ This is suggested by the fact that he originally wrote "of the present consulate" before erasing it, perhaps because he thought it unnecessary. Since we need to place Caecilius [Cons]ultius in the period 28 September to 27 October in a year between 324 and 327, the year 325 can probably be excluded. It is unlikely that a prefect held office in the short period between Flavius Magnus and Flavius Laetus, unless he somehow died during his tenure or was removed for exceptional reasons.²⁰

This leaves us with either 324 or 326. A.J.B. Sirks appears to favour the former date, suggesting that Caecilius [Cons]ultius could have preceded Flavius Magnus, who is attested in office in January/February 325.²¹ He proposes that [Cons]ultius could have been installed by Licinius. This is theoretically possible: he could have been *praeses Aegypti Ioviae* and then initially retained by Constantine as *praefectus* of the newly reunited province (though Sirks himself expresses some doubt about the provincial division, or "moratorium," as he calls it). Constantine did, for example, keep Valerius Victorinianus in of-

Festali (Milan 2003) 221.

¹⁶ PSI 6.685; C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395* (Brussels 1962) 102-103.

¹⁷ See Barnes (n. 9) 151 for this possibility. He could, for example, fit in 309/310, 311/312, or 312/313, based on Barnes' *fasti*.

¹⁸ *PStras.* 6.560, col. iii, ll. 22-23

¹⁹ Coles (n. 1) 26; Sirks (n. 1) 181. For these months, see R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Leiden 2004) 159.

²⁰ Coles (n. 1) 26. Such a limited tenure, although atypical, is not unattested. In 359, Italicianus was prefect for about three months, according to the *Festal Index* 31, ed. Camplani (n. 15) 580. Italicianus appears not to have been disgraced, since he subsequently became governor of Syria and *vicarius* of Asia (see *PLRE* I s.v. Italicianus for references to his later career).

²¹ Sirks (n. 1) 184.

fice as *praeses* of the Thebaid until November 326.²² But how plausible is it that Constantine could have reunited *Aegyptus Iovia* and *Aegyptus Mercuriana* as one province, under one *praefectus Aegypti*, in time for Aurelius Neilammon to send his petition, by 27 October 324, at the very latest? Licinius was defeated at the battle of Chrysopolis on 18 September 324, and abdicated the following day.²³ News always took longer to reach Egypt in the Fall and Winter seasons because of delayed sailing times.²⁴ The first papyri recognising the western consuls of 324, the Caesars Crispus and Constantinus II, are attested in Egypt in December 324.²⁵ There is an edict of Constantine preserved on papyrus, dated to 12 December 324, but this could either be the date that Constantine issued it in Nicomedia, or when it was published in Alexandria.²⁶ The impact of the new Constantinian administration was being felt in the province of *Aegyptus* in December 324. This provides a plausible timeframe for the reunification of the province.

The first papyrus currently surviving from the tenure of Flavius Magnus, dated to January/February 325, suggests that he was the inaugural *praefectus Aegypti* of Constantine's reunited province.²⁷ The document is a letter from Aurelius Aeithales, guardian of a girl called Isis, confirming the receipt of Isis' property and money from the sons of her previous guardian, Boccas, who had passed away. The letter reveals that Aeithales was appointed as Isis' guardian by Isidoros "who then adorned the throne of the praesidiate of the said Alexandria" (τοῦ διακοσμήσαντος τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρίας).²⁸ In another, undated, papyrus, Isidoros' title is explicitly given in Latin as *u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg(ypti) Ioviae*.²⁹ Aeithales states that he then petitioned Flavius Magnus, *praefectus Aegypti*, to obtain Isis' property from the sons of Boccas.³⁰ As R.A. Coles notes in his commentary, this implies that little time had elapsed between Aeithales' appointment by Isidoros and his petition to the new prefect Magnus. It is probable, as Coles suggests,

²² *PLRE I* Victorinianus; Barnes (n. 9) 148.

²³ Barnes (n. 9) 82.

²⁴ R.P. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (Cambridge 1990) 11, 21–22.

²⁵ Bagnall and Worp (n. 19) 180–181 show that the Licinii were last used for consular dates on 5–8 September 324, and Crispus and Constantinus II first appear on 12 December.

²⁶ *P.Oxy.* 6.889; Barnes (n. 9) 236.

²⁷ *P.Oxy.* 54.3756.

²⁸ *P.Oxy.* 54.3756, l. 7 (the translation is that of R.A. Coles).

²⁹ *P.Oxy.* 50.3619, ll. 10–20.

³⁰ *P.Oxy.* 54.3756, l. 9.

that Isidoros was the last *praeses* of *Aegyptus Iovia*, and Magnus the first *praefectus* of the reunited province of *Aegyptus*.³¹ October 324 can therefore most likely be excluded as a suitable date for Neilammon's petition and the prefecture of Caecilius [Cons]ultius.

The year 326 is the most plausible date for [Cons]ultius' tenure. However, R.A. Coles and A.J.B. Sirks both rule out 326, on the basis that Neilammon's petition refers to the equestrian status of κράτιστος (*egregius*), which Constantine is said to have abolished, either in 324, or 326 itself.³² The status designation is used in Neilammon's description of Asklepiades: "he had a military appearance about him, I mean that of the *egregii*" (ἔχων περὶ ἐξ/αὐτὸν/ στρατιωτικὸν σχῆμα, {δη} λέγω ὅτι/ τὸ τῶν κρατίστων).³³ Although the overall sense of this sentence is clear, there are several ambiguities. For example, the adjective στρατιωτικός could suggest that Asklepiades was either an army officer, or a member of the imperial administration, the *militia*. The word σχῆμα has a variety of meanings, including dress, uniform or appearance, as well as rank or status.³⁴ Given the context, it seems prudent to assume that Asklepiades was wearing some kind of official uniform that gave him this military appearance.³⁵ It may be that σχῆμα is deliberately designed by ambiguous, referring both to his clothing and the status it denoted.

Several scholars, most notably A. Chastagnol, suggest that Constantine actually abolished the status of *egregius* in 326 as part of a larger reform of the equestrian order.³⁶ There is little actual evidence, however, for any targeted

³¹ *P.Oxy.* 54.3756, nn. 7, 9; Coles (n. 1) 25.

³² Coles (n. 1) 27 (citing the year 326); Sirks (n. 1) 183-4 (citing the year 324). The rank of κράτιστος (*egregius*) is attested in fourth-century Egypt in the following documents: *P.Oxy.* 54.3729 (a military officer, 307), *P.Merton* 91 (*strategos* of the Arsinoite nome, 316), *P.Oxy.* 43.3124 (a man in charge of bakeries in Ptolemais, ca. 322).

³³ *P.Stras.* 6.560, col. 1, ll. 2-3.

³⁴ LSJ s.v. σχῆμα A 2, 3, 4; E.A. Sophocles, *A Glossary of Later and Byzantine Greek* (Cambridge 1860) s.v. σχῆμα 1. See the discussion of the various meanings in M.N. Tod, "Three notes on Appian," *CQ* 18 (1924) 99-104, at 101-102. The expression στρατιωτικὸς σχῆμα finds parallels in Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon* 2.4 and Antonius, *Life of Simeon Stylites the Elder* 23.

³⁵ Cf. N. Lewis, "Notationes legentis," *BASP* 13 (1976) 5-14, at 5-6, who suggests that Asklepiades actually usurped this uniform. We should also note the possibility that κράτιστος is an informal usage, and does not actually refer to the equestrian status of *egregius*.

³⁶ A. Chastagnol, "Un gouverneur constantinien de Tripolitaine: Laenatius Romulus, *praeses* en 324-326," *Latomus* 25 (1966) 539-552, at 549-550. See also A. Chastagnol, "L'évolution de l'ordre sénatorial aux IIIe et IVe siècles de notre ère," *RH* 244 (1970) 305-314, at 309; idem, "La fin de l'ordre équestre: réflexions sur la prosopographie des

reform of equestrian status in this particular year.³⁷ The title of *egregius* is last attested in the legal sources in *C.Th.* 6.22.1, a constitution of Constantine addressed to an official called Severus, *p(raefectus) u(rbi)*. The manuscript date of the law is 321, but since Valerius Maximus Basilius, not Severus, was urban prefect of that year, the date has been variously emended to 318, 324, or 325/326.³⁸ We are thus uncertain when the status of *egregius* last appears in the *Codex Theodosianus*. Even if the last attestation is in 325/326, that does not mean that the rank was abolished in that year.

C. Lepelley and R. Lizzi Testa propose that there was actually a much more gradual transformation of the *ordo equester* under Constantine. There was no official abolition or suppression of the title of *egregius*, either in 324 or 326, although it certainly lost the prestige it once had, as the rank of *perfectissimus* became more widespread throughout the Roman world.³⁹ The last firmly dated epigraphic appearance of *egregius* occurs on a fragmentary statue base from Leptis Magna. This base originally supported a statue of Constantine, erected by Claudius Aurelius Generosus, *uir egregius* and *curator rei publicae*.⁴⁰ The statue was set up as part of a significant renovation of the forum at Leptis un-

derniers chevaliers romains,” *MEFRM* 100 (1988) 199–206, at 205–206. This year has sometimes been used as a dating criterion for inscriptions featuring the title of *egregius*. See, for example, G. Camodeca, “Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana (fine III–IV secolo),” *Puteoli 4–5* (1980–1981) 59–128, at 62, 117; I. Tantillo and F. Bigi, *Leptis Magna: Una città e le sue iscrizioni in epoca tardoromana* (Cassino 2010) 260; I. Tantillo, “Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus: Signo Honorius?” *ZPE* 190 (2014) 271–278, at 272.

³⁷ Chastagnol follows in particular the earlier arguments of A. Alföldi, “On the Foundation of Constantinople: A Few Notes,” *JRS* 37 (1947) 10–16, at 13–14. Alföldi proposes that Constantine confined equestrian status to the city of Rome in this year, citing *C.Th.* 13.5.16. However, this is a law of 380, which refers to a now-lost and undated ruling of Constantine granting equestrian status to the *naucularii*. Most recently, K. Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World, A.D. 275–425* (Cambridge 2011) 444–454, accepts the idea that the equestrian order was reorganised as part of a larger package of social reform in 326.

³⁸ Barnes (n. 9) 130, 144 (emended to 318); O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart 1919) 172–173 (emended to 324); T. Mommsen, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes* (Berlin 1905) 268 (emended to 325/326).

³⁹ C. Lepelley, “Fine dell’ordine equestre: le tappe dell’unificazione della classe dirigente romana nel IV secolo,” in A. Giardina (ed.), *Società romana e impero tardoantico: istituzioni, ceti, economie* (Bari 1986) 227–244, at 238; R. Lizzi Testa, “Alle origini della tradizione pagana su Costantino e il senato romano,” in P. Rousseau and M. Papoutsakis (eds.), *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown* (Farnham 2009) 85–128, at 114.

⁴⁰ Tantillo and Bigi (n. 36) no. 71, superseding *IRT* 467.

dertaken by the *praeses* of Tripolitania, Laenatius Romulus, who is attested in office between November 324 and March 326.⁴¹ There are also two later cases of the title *egregius* being used in Numidia and Italy, respectively, but these are controversial.⁴² But the fact that the last unambiguous epigraphic appearance of the equestrian title *egregius* occurs in 324/326 does not mean the status was abolished at that point. The title *eques Romanus* largely ceases to feature in inscriptions after the Tetrarchic period, yet the status itself is attested until at least 380.⁴³

If there was no reform of the equestrian order, and the title of *egregius* was not abolished by Constantine either in 324 or 326, then there are no grounds for objecting to the placement of Caecilius [Cons]ulcius as *praefectus Aegypti* in October 326. Since Flavius Laetus is attested in office in February 326, and Septimius Zenius first appears in papyri dated October/November 327, there is sufficient room for [Cons]ulcius to serve as prefect for at least a year between mid-326 and mid-327. This concurs with A.H.M. Jones' calculation that prefects of Egypt served for one to two years on average in the fourth century.⁴⁴ On the basis of current evidence, therefore, the *fasti* of the governors of *Aegyptus* in 324-327 should be listed as follows:

January/February 325 – 2 October 325: Flavius Magnus

2 February 326: Flavius Laetus

28 September/27 October 326: Caecilius [Cons]ulcius

October/November 327 – 6 April 6 329: Septimius Zenius⁴⁵

⁴¹ Tantillo and Bigi (n. 36) no. 72, superseding IRT 468.

⁴² The *sacerdos* Valerius is given the title of *u(ir) e(gregius)* on CIL 8.7014 (dated 364-367), which has been assumed by Chastagnol to be an error. Tannonius Boionius Chrysantius is styled *puer egregius* on a statue base from Puteoli (CIL 10.1815). He was the son of a prominent patron of the town in the late fourth century, and this may well be an informal usage of the adjective *egregius*. See Camodeca (n. 36) 121.

⁴³ *Equites Romani* feature in C.Th. 6.37.1 (364), 13.5.16.pr. (380).

⁴⁴ A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, A.D. 284-602* (Oxford 1964) 131. The calculation is based on the *fasti* for the years 328-373.

⁴⁵ I am very grateful to John Whitehorne, Chris Mallan, the journal's editor, Peter van Minnen, and the anonymous referees for their helpful comments on various aspects of this paper.

Notes on Papyri

P.Wisc. 1.31

In publishing *P.Wisc.* 1.31, a record of correspondence concerning the water supply, P.J. Sijpesteijn reconstructed the first line of column 1 (which continues from a lost preceding column) as ἐσχηκέναι νῦν [ῶ]δε, <ῶστε> μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν μὴ ἔ[χ]ειν ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὴν κώμ[ην τὰ] ἀναγκα[ῖα κ]αὶ ἐπέσειλὰ σοι, which he translated as “[that he] has checked [the water] in such a way so that not only he but also the village does not have what is necessary and I have let you know ...” To produce this reconstruction, Sijpesteijn supplemented [.]δε as [ῶ]δε, a demonstrative adverb (“in such a way,” equivalent to οὕτως) and assumed that the otherwise “very skilled” scribe left out the key word (the relative ὥστε, “so that”) introducing the result clause. The combination of the two would be otherwise unknown in documentary papyri.¹ Sijpesteijn himself was unsure about this reconstruction, suggesting (n. 1) that “perhaps we should read [ῶσ]δε = ὥστε here.”² This spelling would be uncommon, but not unheard of.³

¹ The other uses of the word all come from the Zenon papyri, from Philadelphia in the middle of the third century BC. In at least two of these (*SB* 22.15462 and *PSI* 6.599) the use of ὥδε is very much not as a demonstrative adverb, but in the sense given by Preisigke and Kiessling, that is, “here.” (*WB* s.v. ὥδε). The third instance, *P.Lond.* 7.1976, is somewhat more confusing, but most likely also means “here.” Pestman (*New Papyrological Primer*, p. 78, n. 18) suggests that it “probably reinforces the following ὥστε, ‘and so,’ ‘therefore,’” but this is otherwise unattested, and the use of ὥδε as “here” may be Haynchis playing up the flagrant nature of Demetrios’ crime – not only does he have another wife and children, but they are “here,” that is, Philadelphia, which will be doubly harmed by the failure of Haynchis’ beer shop and by a wife and children left abandoned by Demetrios’ skulduggery.

² The gap after νῦν is large enough to fit a number of letters, certainly enough for [ῶσ]δε, since a trace of the beginning of the second *nu* survives, allowing us to fix the positioning of the “gap” within the hole. The scribe also uses rather large spacing throughout the text, however, and the gap could as easily be filled by one small letter or two relatively wide ones.

³ The writing of ὥσδε for ὥστε occurs seven times in documentary papyri, two of which are within a few decades of *P.Wisc.* 1.31. *P.Col.* 10.266, l. 25 (AD 179-181) probably represents this, and *P.Meyer* 26 (AD 201-225) certainly does. In addition, we find *SB* 26.16351 (fourth century AD), *P.Kell.* 1.23 (AD 353), *P.Grenf.* 1.58 (AD 561), *P.Lond.* 5.1732 (AD 586), and *SB* 16.12604 (AD 602).

The mistake does not occur in literature, in which there are 80,538 hits for ὥστε and only five for ὡσδε though all are ὥσδε and not ὡσδε, and three of these relate to

If we accept that correction ([ῶσ]δε = ὥστε), it is extremely unlikely that νῦν would finish a clause, a point that Sijpesteijn seems to have recognized in creating his (otherwise unsatisfactory) [ῶ]δε, <ὥστε> supplement. In combination with the parallelism between the verbs (ἐσχηκέναι and ἔχειν), the placement of νῦν suggests another possibility. The sentence should probably read ἐσχηκέναι, νυν[ι] δὲ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν μὴ ἔ[χ]ειν, etc. The phrase νῦν δέ is amply attested,⁴ also in its deictic form, νυνὶ δέ.⁵ The different tenses of the parallel verbs, ἐσχηκέναι and ἔχειν, fit into this reconstruction as well.⁶ This reconstruction avoids the need to end a clause with νῦν and to supply missing words in what is otherwise a well written text.

Second, Sijpesteijn's interpretation of αὐτόν as pointing towards a third party – Apollonios, the *aigialophylax* – requires this man to have acted against his own interests. The guardian of the banks, we are to assume from Sijpesteijn's reconstruction, has held back water from (1) himself, (2) the village, no doubt Theadelphia, and (3) (if not mentioned in this sentence) the δρυμός of Pamphilos, the author of the complaint.⁷ It is likely that αὐτόν is instead used by Pamphilos reflexively, that is, “myself” and referring to the δρυμός. With these reconstructions in mind, we can offer a new translation of the first line, including what might have been in the first column (lost to the left side): “(I told him [Apollonios?] that formerly I had) received (sufficient water), but now not only myself but also the village does not have what is necessary ...” We know that Pamphilos wrote to Apollonios to complain about a lack of water before he, Pamphilos, sent his petition to the procurator, and this sentence may represent Pamphilos' report of this.⁸

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Theocritus' use of a Doric form ὥσδε, for ὥζε. Correcting the text to [ῶσ]δε would in any case produce the earliest attested example of the word on papyrus written with a *delta* rather than a *tau*.

⁴ 146 appearances in the *DDBDP*, many of which come at the beginning of a clause.

⁵ 88 appearances in the *DDBDP*, almost all of which begin a clause. Both are quite common in literature, while νῦν ending a clause in literature, when it appears, is often as a substantive, e.g., Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1027b, 1 (ἐπὶ τὸ νῦν).

The *DDBDP* lists another 56 instances of νυνεὶ δέ, almost all of which begin a clause. As the convention is to correct νυνεὶ to νυνί, I have chosen that form as well.

⁶ Herodotus (7.8) does use ὥδε ἔχειν in a slightly idiomatic sense (“the situation to be thus”), but this far from a common feature on papyri and is unlikely in the phrase ἐσχηκέναι νῦν [ῶ]δε.

⁷ In this case, the “thicket” or “brushwood” was probably a fishing-grounds, thus the need for regular and sufficient water. For this, see *P. Wisc.* 1, pp. 125–126.

⁸ *P. Wisc.* 1.31.13–14.

Bemerkungen zu Urkunden

*P.Mich. inv. 414*⁹

Privatbrief des 3./4. Jh. n.Chr. Die Z. 10-13 lauten in der Edition: τὰ ἐπιτήδιά (l. ἐπιτήδεια) | μοι πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἀπόστιλον (l. ἀπόστειλον) σὺ αὐτός, | φροντίσας αὐτοῦ τού<του>, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔσω αἰ | εἰς ἐμὲ ἀμελλοῦσιν (l. ἀμελοῦσιν). Statt αὐτοῦ τού<του> lese ich εἰς τοῦτο[[v]]. Das v ist zur Anzeige der Tilgung vom Schreiber zweifach schräg durchstrichen worden. Die Verbindung von φροντίζειν mit folgendem εἰς statt des Genitivs oder (seltener) der Präposition περί ist – soweit ich sehe – ansonsten unbelegt; sie mag durch Wendungen angeregt worden sein wie z.B. θελήσατε οὖν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν | καὶ φροντίδα ἐνδειξασθαι εἰς αὐτόν in *P.Vind. Worp* 14.6-7, und vergleichbar ist im übrigen die Funktion von εἰς auch bei dem folgenden εἰς ἐμέ. Bei ἀμελλοῦσιν erscheint mir die Lesung eines doppelten Lambda nicht zwingend; ich würde ἀμελοῦσιν transkribieren. Schließlich würde ich der Interpunktion nach αὐτός die nach ἀπόστιλον vorziehen, d. h. ἀπόστιλον, σὺ αὐτὸς φροντίσας εἰς τοῦτο, weil dadurch der Gegensatz σὺ αὐτός – οἱ ἔσω deutlicher hervorgehoben wird.

Ganz ungewöhnlich und ohne Parallele in den Papyri ist der am Ende des Briefs noch nach dem Schlußgruß nachgetragene Wunsch im Optativ ὀναίμην σου (Z. 17), der von der Herausgeberin nicht ausführlich kommentiert worden ist. Man könnte darüber spekulieren, ob hierin christlicher Einfluß gesehen werden darf. Denn in dem Brief an Philemon des Neuen Testaments schreibt Paulus (Vers 20): ναί, ἄδελφε, ἐγὼ σου ὀναίμην ἐν κυρίῳ, und auf diese Stelle scheint in dem unter dem Namen des Ignatius von Antiochien laufenden Briefcorpus zahlreiche Male angespielt zu werden; nimmt man alle drei Rezensionen der (Pseudo-)Ignatianen zusammen, so kommt man auf rund 20 Fälle. Für unseren Papyrus ist der 2. Brief in der Fassung der *recensio longior* besonders bemerkenswert, weil dieser in Kap. 13.3 mit den Worten ὀναίμην ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ endet.¹⁰ Sollte meine Überlegung zutreffen, brauchte man den Ton der

⁹ Ediert von Jennifer Sheridan Moss, „Much Ado About the Grape Harvest. A Letter from Apollonios to His Father,“ *BASP* 45 (2008) 241-246 mit Abb. auf S. 245. Vgl. auch die digitale Abbildung unter <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-4607/414R.TIF>.

¹⁰ Zu Sammlungen von biblischen Zitaten, Anspielungen und Anklängen in christlichen Briefen des 4. Jh. s. Malcolm Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri*, Turnhout 2006, S. 74-83 und dens., „Echo and Quotation of the New Testament in Papyrus Letters to the End of the Fourth Century,“ in: Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas (Hgg.), *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World*, Boston 2006, S. 267-292.

Worte ὀναίμην σου unseres Briefes nicht mehr als „plaintively“ zu empfinden, wie dies die Herausgeberin auf S. 243 tut, sondern der Wunsch „ich möchte Deiner froh werden“ könnte ein Zeichen der persönlichen Verbundenheit des Schreibers mit dem Empfänger sein, den er mit κύριέ μου πάτερ anredet.

Kleinigkeiten: In Z. 6 sollte m.E. nicht [προ]νοῆσαι akzentuiert werden, sondern [προ]νόησαι, da es sich um den Imperativ des Mediums handelt. In Z. 9f. ist in οἱ πάτοι οἱ ἐσχατίζον|τες¹¹ das zweite οἱ kaum ein Relativpronomen, sondern ein wegen der attributiven Stellung des Partizips wiederholter Artikel, also οἱ.

*P.Col. inv. 46*¹²

Arsinoitischer Darlehensvertrag, von der Herausgeberin auf ca. 340-410 n.Chr. datiert. Die Höhe des Darlehens betrug der Edition zufolge (Z. 7) χρυσίου νομισμά[τιον] ξναν (*l. ξν*) νομ(ισμάτιον) χρ(υσίου) α/. Die Vielzahl von Punkten unter der Wiederholung νομ(ισμάτιον) χρ(υσίου) α/ kennzeichnet diese als unsicher gelesen; sie ist aber auch wegen der ungewöhnlichen Abfolge νομισμάτιον χρυσίου statt χρυσίου νομισμάτιον verdächtig. Ich lese stattdessen νεοχάρ(ακτον); das Omikron besteht in einer Verbindungsschleife zwischen dem Epsilon und dem Ansatz zum Chi, die Abkürzung ist durch einen eingebundenen Querstrich durch das Rho angezeigt. Die Bezeichnung νεοχάρακτος, „neugeprägt“, für Münzen war in den Papyri bisher erst zweimal sicher bezeugt, und zwar in *P.Kell.* 1.8.6 (362 n.Chr.) δεσποτικῶν ἀπλῶν νεοχαράκτων νομισματίων δύο und in *P.Hamb.* 4.263.12 (366 n.Chr.) ---]ν νεοχαράκτου ἀριθμῶν [---. Ein weiterer Beleg könnte in *PLips.* 1.13.10 (364 n.Chr.) gestanden haben, wo [εὐ]χάρακτα ergänzt worden ist; man vergleiche dazu wie auch zu dem Gegensatz παλαιοχάρακτος den Kommentar zu *P.Hamb.* 4.263.12. Sollte die zeitliche Nähe der bisher bekannten sicheren Belege sowie des potentiellen Belegs nicht reiner Zufall sein, könnte man daran denken, die in Z. 10 von *P.Col. inv. 46* als bevorstehend bezeichnende 4. Indiktion als die der Jahre 360/1 oder 375/6 n.Chr. zu identifizieren. Die Datierung des Vertrages ließe sich dann auf 359/60 oder 374/5 n.Chr. einengen.

Ferner: Z. 8 κέμων: Entgegen der Darlegung im Kommentar läßt sich m.E. hier doch κέμμον lesen, wobei die Buchstaben μι in Korrektur stehen, während in Z. 18 κέμμον wirklich unvermeidlich ist. Gerade der Vergleich zeigt, daß

¹¹ Die denkbaren Bedeutungen dieses schwer verständlichen Ausdrucks diskutiert Th. Kruse in *APF* 56 (2010) 342f. Zu πάτος vgl. jetzt auch *P.Oxy.* 75.5054.12 Komm.

¹² Ediert von Katherine Blouin, „An Arsinoite Loan of Money with Interest in Kind,“ *BASP* 47 (2010) 93-109 mit Abb. auf S. 97. Eine digitale Abbildung findet man unter <http://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p444>.

My immer eine bogenförmige Anbindung nach rechts hat; in Z. 8 sieht man aber vor dem Omikron eine deutliche, dunkel schwarze Senkrechte, m.E. ein nachgetragenes Iota.

Z. 13 ἔκ τε τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὁμολογουμένου: Nach ἐμοῦ ist in der Transkription ein τοῦ ausgefallen, vielleicht wegen des falschen τοῦ vor ἐμοῦ (vgl. den Komm.). ὁμολογουμένου ist ein Fehler des Schreibers anstelle von ὁμολογοῦντος. Herzustellen ist daher ἔκ τε {τοῦ} ἐμοῦ τοῦ ὁμολογουμένου (*l. ὁμολογοῦντος*).

Im Apparat zu Z. 3 lies Παῖσει Παήσεως statt Παήσεως Παήσεως.

P.Tebt. II 523¹³

Quittung über die Begleichung ausstehender Zahlungen für φιλόανθρωπα in mehreren Raten, deren letzte am 5. Mai 164 erfolgt ist. Die erste Rate betraf den Zeitraum ἀ[π]ὸ μην[ός] | [Αδ]ριανοῦ τοῦ κ[γ] (ἔτους) Τίτ[ου] Αἰλίου | [Αντ]ωνείνου ἕως . [Α]θὺρ τοῦ κδ (ἔτους) | [τοῦ καὶ] πρώτου Α[ντ]ωνείνου καὶ | Q[υ]ήρου (Z. 6-10). Da Antoninus Pius zum Zeitpunkt der Zahlung bereits verstorben war, lautete seine „politisch korrekte“ Bezeichnung damals nicht mehr Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀντωνῖνος, sondern θεὸς Αἴλιος Ἀντωνῖνος. Hierfür gibt es in der DDbDP gegenwärtig 89 *hits*. Man sollte daher auch hier in Z. 7 besser θε[ο]ῦ ergänzen.

P.Tebt. II 583¹⁴

Aus der pannonischen Fremde beklagt sich der Soldat in diesem von zahllosen orthographischen Fehlern durchsetzten Brief (2./3. Jh. n.Chr.) heftig über die mangelnden Nachrichten aus der Heimat, während er selbst doch immer an die Adressaten denke und häufig dorthin schreibe. So auch Z. 9-10: καὶ οὐκ ἀναπᾶμαι (*l. ἀναπαύομαι*) ὑμᾶς φέρων καὶ [κ]ατὰ ψυχὴν ἔ[χ]ων εἰμ[ᾶς] (*l. ὑμᾶς*). Das mit „bearing you (in mind)“ übersetzte φέρων wäre eine erstaunlich verkürzte Ausdrucksweise. Ich kann indes das fragliche Rho überhaupt nicht nachvollziehen, sondern sehe eher ein Lambda und glaube davor noch Spuren eines Iota zu erkennen, würde also φειλῶν (*l. φιλῶν*) transkribieren.

¹³Nach dem *Descriptum* erstmals ediert von Gabriel Nocchi Macedo, „Payment of a Financial Obligation from Tebtynis,“ *BASP* 49 (2012) 63-72 mit Abbildung auf S. 69. Digitale Abbildungen sind ferner erreichbar über <http://wwwapp.cc.columbia.edu/ldpd/apis/item?mode=item&key=berkeley.apis.842>.

¹⁴Nach dem *Descriptum* erstmals vollständig ediert von Grant Adamson, „Letter from a Soldier in Pannonia,“ *BASP* 49 (2012) 79-94 mit Abbildungen von Recto und Verso auf S. 93f. Digitale Abbildungen sind ferner erreichbar über <http://wwwapp.cc.columbia.edu/ldpd/apis/item?mode=item&key=berkeley.apis.181>.

Man könnte auf eine ähnliche Formulierung in dem Brief SB 14.11644.10f. (1./2. Jh. n.Chr.) verweisen, wo es heißt: ὁ θεὸς οἷ|δεν πῶς σε κατὰ ψυχὴν φιλῶ.

Köln

Dieter Hagedorn

P.Lund 4.13.1-2

When the bird and the book disagree,
always believe the bird¹⁵

Attention was redirected to the first two lines of this piece by Klaas Worp's note in *BASP* 51 (2014) 198. For easy access to the image I recommend proceeding through APIS into the Lund collection and entering the number 27. As confirmed by my attempt on 13 May 2015, this will bring up a link to *Pap. Choix* 25 (with image), one of the Lund papyrus's subsequent editions; the other is *SB* 6.9349.¹⁶

The papyrus is a petition about a theft of wheat and bread. Its addressee is anonymous; his titles only are recorded in the first two lines, the second of which has for seventy years resisted satisfactory decipherment. Combining the accepted reading of the first line with Worp's revision of the second yields the following:

τῷ τὴν στατιῶνα ἔχον-
τι κώμ(ης) ὑποβ(ενε)φ(ικιαρίῳ)

“To the head of the village police station, *subbeneficiarius* ...”

While this moves in the right direction, it remains, I believe, both flawed and incomplete.

The flaw resides in the introduction of a new word, ὑποβ(ενε)φ(ικιαρίῳ), a Greco-Latin compound representing the Latin *subbeneficiarius*. As so often, *unicum ergo suspectum*. Worp considered the letters υπο to be “damaged but not problematical.” And in fact the *omicron*, an ink blob without hollow, is acceptable as read; the right half of *pi* is clear in its horizontal and right vertical strokes, but the preceding letter, though abraded and out of alignment (it is low and to the left – the papyrus is distorted here), is more likely *alpha* than *upsilon*. Preserved of the letter's left side, as I see it, are traces of an acute angle, roughly ∠. This is sealed off at the right by a broken reverse oblique stroke (\\). The results look something like ∠\\. Compare, conveniently, the *alpha* at the start of line 3. If alpha is the correct interpretation of these remains, the reading

¹⁵ Saying attributed to naturalist John James Audubon (1785-1851). My thanks to Todd Hickey and Dominic Rathbone for their careful reading and comments on two previous but different versions of this note. I alone am directly responsible for the results.

¹⁶ Pl. VII in the *ed.pr.*

becomes: ἀπὸ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίων),¹⁷ i.e., *ex-beneficiarius*, a title amply attested, though almost exclusively in fourth-century papyri.¹⁸

Worp's revision, by the way, tacitly introduces a *mu* into κώμ(ης) that is not found in previous transcriptions, in this way reinforcing interpretation of this complex of letters as referring to a village. Here, I believe, is where the revision is incomplete. Presumably (this is not stated), Worp is interpreting the horizontal stroke over *kappa-omega* as a devolved *mu*. The *mu* would make the resolution κώμ(ης) incontestable. Initial resolution of this complex as κώ(μης)¹⁹ surely influenced attempts to see in the following traces a village name, Ἰβ(ιώνος) (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) (*BL* 3.105, 6.74; *Pap.Choix* 25) or Νᾶρ(μούθεως) (*P.Rain.Cent.*, pp. 102-103; *BL* 8.205), both of which, but especially the latter, are palaeographically untenable.

In any case, now that thanks to Worp's initiative every letter in line 2 has been accounted for, a village name can no longer find mention there, but it is worth noting that the reported theft is alleged to have taken place in the village of Narmouthis, line 13. In that line will be found a third and final abbreviation in the papyrus as it survives.²⁰ There, as the writer approached the right edge of the papyrus, he realized he had run out of space to write out Ναρμούθεως to the very last letter, so he abbreviated the village name with a flat stroke over *omega*. This suggests that if the writer had intended κώμ(ης) or κώ(μης) in line 2, he would have written a stroke only over the *omega*.²¹ The mark of abbreviation,

¹⁷ *Beta* and *phi* are partly obscured by the loss of a strip of horizontal fibers, which explains D. Foraboschi's construing *phi* as *psi*: *P.Rain.Cent.*, pp. 102-103. But compare the *phi* in φανερόν, line 22, where the expected circular or ovate component is drawn thick and flat in two shoulder-to-shoulder horizontal strokes, perhaps over an erasure.

¹⁸ I count 20 hits on the DDbDP (accessed 30 March 2015), all but one belonging to the fourth century. The exception, *SB* 6.9157.7 (III AD?), in a list of names, some obviously Christian, is perhaps dated too early. *P.Ryl.* 4.657.14 (AD 323-324) should likely be added to the list of attestations. It currently reads: Ἀμμώνιος ὁλο β(ενε)φ(ικιάριος), the editor apparently contemplating a much-damaged patronymic. This should probably be corrected to: Ἀμμώνιος ἀπὸ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίων). The papyrus is deep dark owing to dampness. *Alpha* is hard to see; *pi* looks possible; *omicron* is certain. (My thanks to Roberta Mazza for images of this detail.)

References to the simple title βενεφικιάριος are thick in both third and fourth centuries: S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel Greco d'Egitto*² (Barcelona 1991) 33-34 s.v.

¹⁹ With a question mark in the *ed.pr.*, carried over into *SB* 6.9349 and *Pap.Choix* 25; no question mark at *P.Rain.Cent.*, p. 102 (*BL* 8.205).

²⁰ The bottom of the petition is lost.

²¹ I owe this insight to Todd Hickey (email, 2 April 2015). One may also suggest – a minor and contestable point – that the resolution κώμ(ης) or κώ(μης) with no village name following should have been marked by the definite article if it were to mean what

[illegible]

however, is a single horizontal stroke written dead straight; it hovers not just above *omega* but, written from left to right, fully covers *kappa* as well, starting exactly above its hasta. In this writer's slow, deliberate hand, this cannot have been by chance.²² In brief, the ensemble, drawn so carefully, is κ(υρί)ψ, a contracted abbreviation of κύριος in the dative, written in imitation of a *nomen sacrum* and intended as a sign of respect to the addressee, despite his secular position and the petition's secular contents.²³ I suggest here that the clarity of the drafting trumps the consequent, unprecedented word string and the rare application of contracted forms of κύριος to humans of whatever rank.²⁴ If all this is right, the previously contested reading of lines 1-2 becomes:

τῷ τὴν στατιῶνα ἔχον-
τι κ(υρί)ψ ἀπὸ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίων)²⁵

and means:

“To the lord in charge of the police station, ex-*beneficiarius* ...”

or (better):

“To the head of the police station, sir, ex-*beneficiarius* ...”

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it is taken to mean in the APIS translation: “To the head of the police station of the village ...” (my stress).

²² “The writer uses a predominantly book hand and avoids ligature except with sigma (l. 1). Letters are small and heavy and only rarely of cursive shape ...”: C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands 350 B.C. – A.D. 400* (Oxford 1955) 23 (with pl. 23b on the facing page).

²³ This is a convoluted way of expressing Paap's oxymoronic “non-sacral” use of the *nomen sacrum*: A.H.R.E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.* (Leiden 1959), *passim*.

²⁴ Evidence in the documentary papyri is sketchy and scattered. The best example for present purposes is *P.Strasb.* 1.35.v.1 (IV/V A.D.): ἐπίδ(ος) σὺν θ(εῶ) τῷ κ(υρί)ψ N.N. Other examples I have found are *P.Oxy.* 12.1592.3 (III/IV AD; vocative case, religious context); *SB* 6.9139.1 (restored) and 16 (both vocatives) (VI AD?); *SB* 26.16687.13 (IV AD; partly restored, accusative case); *P.Vars.* 32.9 (AD 618? Dative of indirect object; an apt parallel but very late).

²⁵ The following blank space, previously unreported, is presumably one of punctuation, to separate the person petitioned from the one petitioning. It is treated as a lacuna in *SB* 6.9349.2. There is another blank before the date begins to be recorded in line 8, less easily explained as punctuation.

Πατέλλα in the Greek Papyri

V.B. Schuman in his article “Two Greek Ostraca,” *TAPA* 75 (1944) 68-70 (= *SB* 6.9042), translated the place name Πάτελλα, which appears in lines 1-2 πάτελλα λεγο(μένη) (πρότερον) Πρωτα() Ἀβοίκεως (ἄρουρα) α, as “Dish,” probably because it was assumed to come from the latin *patella*; see *OLD* s.v. *patella* 1 “a small dish or plate” and of *LSJ* s.v. πατέλλα “dish.” Then, H.C. Youtie in his brilliant discussion regarding shapes of land in his article “Critical Notes on Graeco-Roma Ostraca,” *TAPA* 76 (1945) 140-156, esp. p. 156 (= *Scriptiunculae* 1.153-172, esp. p. 169) adopted the same meaning. But what could be the exact characteristic of a place named Πατέλλα (rather a feminine than a neuter noun)? Here I would like to refer to the place name Πατέλλες, which is attested nowadays in the Dodecanese and in Crete. As Α.Γ. Τσοπανάκης in his article “Λεπίδα – Πατελλιά – Πατέλλα – Ζώμιθος” in the journal *Κρητολογία* 9 (1979) 119-133, esp. p. 124, argued, this place name, Patella, is used for slightly elevated flat fields (usually the top of hills), from where one can see the area around. It does come from the Latin *patella* (as Schuman and Youtie assumed), and it has no etymological or semantic connection to the noun πατελλιά, a specific kind of stone which is used in the house and is derived from πέταλον.²⁶

References to these πατέλλαι as plates, pans, or basins are found already from the Roman period: Pollux, *Onomasticon* 6.85 τὰς δὲ καλουμένας πατέλλας λεκανίδας ὀνομαστέον, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀργύρου εἶεν; cf. also 6.91 εἴη δ’ ἂν ἡ πατάνη λοπάδιον ἐκπέταλον, ὃ νῦν ἴσως ἀπὸ τούτου καλοῦσι πατέλλιον; 10.107 πατάνη δὲ καὶ πατάνιον τὸ ἐκπέταλον λοπάδιον, ὃ τινες καλοῦσι, πατέλλιον; cf. also Orib., *Synopsis ad Eustathium* 4.35.5; Alex., *Therapeutica* 2, p. 161 (Puschmann); Eustathius, *Sch. Il.* B 312) ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν πετάλων καὶ ποτήρια ἐκπέταλα τὰ πλατέα, ὅποια τὰ ιδιωτικῶς λεγόμενα πατέλλια. Also, the words πάτελλον (*BGU* 3.781.6.2; I-II A.D.) and πατελλίκιον (*CPR* 8.66.10; IV-V AD; *SB* 6.9158.5; V AD; *P.Eleph. Wagner* 325.1; V-VI AD; *P.Oxy.* 14.2419.9-10; V AD) are found in the Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine period.²⁷ Moreover, the origin of the words πατέλης, πατελάρος, “bold”, in Medieval and Modern Greek seems to be the same word πατέλλα, because of the similarity of a bold head with a basin. Therefore, in the phrase δ(ιὰ) Κοσμ(ᾶ) Πατελης in *P.Lond.* 4.1553.42, dated to the eighth century AD (Aphrodito), πατέλης might not be the name of his father, but could be interpreted as “bold,” an apparent facial characteristic feature used as a nickname or as a detail of Kosmas’ identity.

²⁶ See my next note concerning the noun πεταλίδα – πατελίδα, “limpet.”

²⁷ Also, βατέλλα, βατελλίκιον, and βατέλλιον are found (e.g. *P.Oxy.* 4.741.17; *SB* 22.15284.4-6, 13, etc.), because of the phonological interchange of πατελ- and βατελ-; see Gignac, *Grammar* 1.84.

Therefore, if the meaning of the word in Rhodes and Crete is the same as the one in Greco-Roman Egypt, then we can assume that the place name Πατέλλα in our ostrakon was given to a slightly elevated area. Unfortunately we cannot locate this area, because the text does not provide further details about its place of origin, and there is no information about the findspot of the ostrakon.

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On the Etymology of “Limpet”

In *P.Naqlun* 1.10.4 (dated to the sixth-seventh century AD) the noun πεδαλίδας is attested, which the editor T. Derda rightly considered to be πεταλίδας = πατελίδας, “limpet” (see n. ad loc.). He also attempted an etymology from the Latin *patella*, although, as he stated “this word with the meaning of a species of limpet or another sea-snail does not occur in the lexica.” Finally, based on a scholion on Oppianus, *Hal.* 1.138 λεπάδες εἰσὶ ζῶα ἐλάττονα τῶν ὀστρέων, ἃ φασι πατελίδας, he traced the history of the words *patella* and λεπάς. The latter passed into Latin, but later the Latin *patella* entered into Greek. He is also right to refer to this attestation of the word in *P.Naqlun* 1.10 as its earliest example in Greek.

However, concerning the etymology I would like to refer, first, to Ν.Π. Ἀνδριώτης, Ἑτυμολογικὸ λεξικὸ τῆς Κοινῆς Νεοελληνικῆς (Θεσσαλονίκη 1951¹, 1983³), s.v. πεταλίδα (cf. also πατελίδα) “μεσ(αιω)ν(ικά) πατελίδα, ὑποκορ(ιστικὸ) τοῦ ἰταλ(ικοῦ) *patella*, ἴσως μὲ ἐπίδραση τοῦ πέταλος” (transl. “medieval πατελίδα, diminutive of the Italian *patella*, perhaps under the influence of the form πέταλος”). On the other hand, later Ἀ.Γ. Τσοπανάκης, “Λεπίδα – Πατελλιά – Πατέλλα – Ζώμιθος,” *Κρητολογία* 9 (1979) 119-133, discussed the semantic similarities between λεπίς and πατελλιά and the Greek words that come from the same roots: In Crete the noun λεπίς denotes a brittle ash/blue-colored shimmer argil montmorillonite earth, which people used to lay on the even earthen surfaces of the roofs of the houses every one or two years to make them impervious to water. The nouns λεπίς (“blade”), λέπρα (“leprosy”), λοπάς (“flat-dish or plate”; cf. LSJ s.v. I), λοπάς (“shell-fish”; see LSJ s.v. IV), λεπάς (“limpet”; see LSJ s.v.), etc. derive from the same root λεπ-. In Rhodes, however, the same kind of earth was called πεταλιά, which comes from the noun πέταλον, a thin plate or foil of gold or other material (e.g. glass, copper); cf. LSJ s.v. πέταλον II.²⁸ As it seems, the nouns πεταλούδα (“butterfly”), πεταλία (“flat dish or crate”; see LSJ s.v. I, attested also in papyri), and πεταλίσ/πατελίσ (“limpet”)²⁹ derive directly from the word πέταλον (“leaf”; see

²⁸ Also attested in papyri: e.g. *P.Bacch.* 7.2, 5, 7; *PKöln* 1.52.13-14, 61-62; cf. the verb πεταλώ (-ῶ), “cover with a metal plate,” also found in papyri (*PLeid.* X = M-P³ 1997; III-IV AD). The difference between πέταλον and λέπιον in modern Greek was the size, the material and the color. The former was thick, either pear- or U-shaped metal plate used as horseshoe.

²⁹ As Τσοπανάκης states, concerning the semantic comparison between λεπίς/πεταλιά (specific stone) and πεταλίσ (limpet) one could assume that the scaly surface and the reflection of the light of the limpet is in accordance with the earth described as λεπίς and πεταλιά.

LSJ s.v. I) and not from the Latin *patella*. The form πατελῖς is just a metathesis of vowels, otherwise attested in Greek (see Τσοπανάκης, *loc. cit.*, p. 122, n. 12).

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Christian Inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia 2 (2014)

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Abstract

Second installment of an annual overview of published inscriptions
in Greek and Coptic from Christian Egypt and Nubia.

It is with great pleasure that we present to the reader the second installment of our epigraphical bulletin on Christian Egypt and Nubia, covering the inscriptions published in 2014. Added are some items with a publication date of 2013 that appeared or came to our attention too late to be included in CIEN 1 (3-50, 67-78, and 79 below). For the rationale behind our epigraphical bulletin and the way the entries are set up, we refer to the introduction to CIEN 1 (2013), which can be found in *BASP* 51 (2014) 199-201.

1. Egypt and Nubia. Greek and Coptic inscriptions copied by J.-J. Rifaud. M.-C. Bruwier, W. Claes, and A. Quertinmont (eds.), *“La Description de l’Égypte” de Jean-Jacques Rifaud (1813-1826)* (Brussels 2014). A study of the over 200 known lithographs that were part of the ambitious project by the early traveller Jean-Jacques Rifaud to supplement the *Description de l’Égypte*, a project that was – sadly enough – never completed. In a short contribution, A. Delattre and N. Vanthieghem (pp. 133-137) focus on the three plates (184-186) with a *mélange* of ca. 37 inscriptions in Demotic, Greek, Coptic, and Arabic selected from the 260 inscriptions Rifaud is said to have hand-copied at various sites in Egypt and Nubia. The majority of the copies can be linked to the known editions of these texts, and they are mostly of poor quality. Nonetheless, the six cases where the inscriptions could not be identified (nos. 10-11, 15, 28, 3*-5*) are of interest, since they might go back to unpublished texts. The authors draw particular attention to nos. 10-11, which is in fact one inscription in Coptic, now lost, containing a 12th-century prayer for the donor of a painting of St. John the Baptist in the church of Deir el-Fakhuri (ca. 9 km north of Esna) that will be published in the next volume of *BIFAO*.

2. Egypt or Nubia. Unknown provenance. Inscribed jar, ca. 7th-9th cent. *Ed. princ.* T. Górecki and A. Łajtar, “Eine Bronzekanne mit der Inschrift ΕΥΧΑΡΙΟΣ im World Museum Liverpool,” in M. Długosz (ed.), *Vom “Troglo-dytenland” ins Reich der Scheherazade. Archäologie, Kunst und Religion zwischen Okzident und Orient. Festschrift für Piotr O. Scholz zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin 2014) 259-273. Publication of a bronze jug (height 19.7 cm), formerly in the collection of Robert Gayer-Anderson (1881-1945), who probably acquired it on the antiquities market, now in the World Museum Liverpool (inv. 47.27.5). The belly of the jug bears an engraved inscription ΟΥΧΑΡΙΟΣ, preceded by a cross with forked endings (cross “fourchée”). The text is discussed by the second author (pp. 269-273), who interprets it as either the nominative of the name Εὐχάριος (Eucharios) or an (unattested) genitive of the name Εὐχαρίς (Eucharis). In either case, the name would be that of the owner or donor of the jug.

3-50. Kellia (Qusur ‘Isa). Greek and Coptic graffiti, 6th-7th cent. N. Bosson, P. Cherix, and R. Kasser, “Les inscriptions,” in D. Weidmann (ed.), *Kellia. Kôm Qouçoûr ‘Îsâ 1: fouilles de 1965 à 1978* (Leuven 2013) 309-353. The large monastic complex of Qusur ‘Isa has been excavated during five missions in the 1960s and 1970s. The 154 inscriptions painted in red and black on (59 items) or scratched into (95 items) the walls are published here for the first time. Most of the texts are short and badly damaged. The graffiti are located in 22 rooms (out of ca. 160 rooms in the whole monastic complex). The most important location (99 graffiti) is the choir of the church (room 61). The archaeological data and chronology of the architectural development allow the editors to assign the inscriptions to the 6th and, especially, the 7th centuries. 57 texts are written in Bohairic Coptic and 10 in Greek (but printed in Coptic font); the language of the remaining texts cannot be determined, either because the inscription is too damaged or because it consists only of a name or names.¹ The publication includes an index and an introduction, with at pp. 312-314 some corrections to texts published in R. Kasser (ed.), *Explorations aux Qouçoûr er-Roubâ’iyât. Rapport des campagnes 1982 et 1983* (Leuven 1994).

Most inscriptions consist only of names (Coptic or Greek), sometimes with a qualification (nos. 8, 10, 12, 14 = **9** below, 15, 19, 33, 34, 37, 47, 57, 60, 66 = **29**, 77, 79, 115, 128, 142, 154). Only a few ecclesiastical titles are preserved: the deacons Georgi (no. 61) and Theognostos (no. 132 = **41**), as well as a priest (no. 143 = **46**). As for the more complex texts, the most common Coptic formulae are ἀρι πμεγι/φμεγι etc. “remember” (nos. 7 = **6**, 23, 39, 44 = **18**, 45

¹ In the following description, Coptic texts are printed in Coptic, Greek texts in Greek, and when the language cannot be determined, Coptic font is used.

= **19**, 48 = **21**, 54 = **24**, 62 = **28**, 64, 69 = **30**, 70 = **31**, 71 = **32**, 109, 132 = **41**), invocations of Jesus Christ (nos. 16, 18, 22, 65, 125, 126, 127) or God (nos. 24 = **11**, 25, 29 = **13**, 111) and texts asking for mercy (ἀρι πιναῖ νεν “have mercy on”: nos. 11, 31, 51 = **23**) or help (ἀρι βοηθῆναι: no. 40 = **17**). The last type of text is more common in Greek: (Κύριε) βοήθει or βοήθησον (nos. 24 = **11**, 30 = **14**, 38 = **16**, 56 = **25**, 59 = **27**, 123, 124 = **39**). In some cases, the inscriptions are connected to the paintings (nos. 9 = **7**, 17 = **10**) or are written on or around crosses (nos. 6 = **5**, 14 = **9**, 18, 149 = **48**, 150 = **49**). A few funerary formulae were also written on the walls (nos. 26 (?), 63 (?), 131 (?), 152 = **50**). The texts appear to have been written both by monks and visitors. We present here a selection of the best preserved or most interesting inscriptions (only these have been given a separate entry number in bold).

3. No. 2. *Ed. princ.* List of names and months (Mesore and Thoth), painted in black on a fragment of coating found on the ground. The text is probably Greek. One can perhaps read the names Εὐ]ήθιος (?), Ἰούλ[ιος or Ἰουλ[ιανός, and Κ[ορ]νηλία.

4. No. 5. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in room 19, which mentions Apa Aron and (or son of?) Ioannes, ΝΤΕ ΝΙΕΞΩΑ “from the Nubians.” The text dates probably to the last quarter of the 6th century (cf. p. 310).

5. No. 6, Fig. 85, fold-out Pl. 8.9, Pls. 49.2 and 57.7; cf. also p. 369, Fig. 139. *Ed. princ.* Greek *dipinto* painted in red above a cross on the northern wall of room 23. The text reads Σταυρὸς | νικᾷ. Ἀμήν “The cross wins, amen.” The inscription dates probably between the last quarter of the 6th and the middle of the 7th century (cf. p. 310).

6. No. 7, Fig. 86, fold-out Pl. 8.9, Pl. 49.2. *Ed. princ.* Coptic *dipinto* painted in red on the northern wall of room 23. The text asks to remember “me and my father.”

7. No. 9, fold-out Pl. 8.10, Pl. 58.1, cf. also p. 370, Fig. 143. *Ed. princ.* Greek *dipinto* painted in black near the head of a representation of St. Theodoros on the eastern wall of room 23. The text gives the name of the saint (ὁ ἅγιος Θεόδωρος, read Θεόδωρος).

8. No. 13, Fig. 87, Pls. 49.3 and 49.4. *Ed. princ.* Coptic *dipinto* painted in red on the southern wall of room 33. List of seven persons, probably monks: Ioannes, Zacharias, and the late (?) David (these three are also mentioned in no. 14 = **9**), Kidor (one should perhaps read ἸϞΙΔΩΡ), Mena son of Ammoni (or ἈΜΜΩΝΙ'ΟΥ?), who is also mentioned in no. 9 (7), Abraam and Ioannes. The list is preceded by a header: ΝΙΡΟ CΝΔΥ, literally “the two mouths,” which probably means that these monks were renowned for their eloquence. In the last line, there is what appears to be a benediction.

9. No. 14, Fig. 149, Pl. 49.5, cf. also p. 371, D 41. *Ed. princ.* Coptic *dipinto* painted in red around a processional cross on the southern wall of room 33. Names of David, Zacharia, and Ioannes, also mentioned in no. 13 (**8**).

10. No. 17, Fig. 89, Pls. 49.6, 60.1, cf. also p. 373, D 55, Fig. 160. *Ed. princ.* Greek *dipinti* painted in red on fragments of coating found on the ground of nave 42. Two legends of paintings survive. To the left, the inscription reads: Ἀβραὰμ πυων θυσιάν | τῷ Θεῷ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. The editors understand πυων as a mistake for θύων (see also p. 319 [n. 40]), but this is not likely from a phonetic point of view. We suggest interpreting it as a mistake for ποιῶν (“making”), the interchange between οἱ and υ being well attested in Egypt (cf. Gignac, *Gram.* 1.197-199). To the right, a legend above an *orans*, which reads ὁ ἅγιος [. . .].

11. No. 24, Fig. 90, Pl. 50.2. *Ed. princ.* Greek graffito scratched in the northern wall of courtyard 47, which contains the invocation Εἰς Θεὸς βοηπασε. The interpretation of the last word is problematic. The editors interpret it as a mistake for βοήθησε (read ἐβοήθησε(ν)) and translate “(Le) Dieu unique a secouru.” They propose other possible explanations in the commentary, such as βοή πᾶσι(ν) or πάση< ἐκκλησίας>. The sequence should perhaps be understood as βοή<θησον> (or βοή<θει>) πᾶσε (for πᾶσι) “help everyone.”

12. No. 27, Pl. 50.4. *Ed. princ.* Fragments of a Greek *dipinto* painted in red on fragments of coating found at the northern wall of room 54. The text contains the words ἀμὴν, βοήθησον, ἀδελφαί and perhaps στε]ρέωσις. The reconstruction of the text is, as indicated by the editors, quite hypothetical.

13. No. 29, Fig. 92, Pl. 60.5. *Ed. princ.* Coptic *dipinto* painted in red on the southern wall of room 55. Invocation of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

14-39. The inscriptions nos. 30-128 were found on the walls of room 61, which was the choir of the church of Qusur ‘Isa. These texts were probably written after the abandonment of the room, between the second quarter and end of the 7th century.

14. No. 30, fold-out Pl. 10.7, Pl. 50.5. *Ed. princ.* Greek *dipinto* painted in red on the northern wall. The text reads Βοήθησεν (read Βοήθησον) εμνι εὐλ{λ}όγητος Κ(ύριος) Κ(ύρι)ε. The editors interpret the sequence of letters εμνι as ἄμυνε “protect” and suggest (p. 311) that the text could perhaps be related to the persecutions of the miaphysites in the second half of the 5th century, even if the archaeological data allows for a dating until the 7th century. This interpretation is pure speculation, however, and based on an uncertain reading of εμνι; one would rather suspect an error for ἡμῖν “us.”

15. No. 35, fold-out Pl. 10.7. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the northern wall. The text reads ΠΙΧΙΜΙ ΝΜΗΝΑ, which the editors translate as “la trouvaille de Mēna.” However, ΠΙΧΙΜΙ is a proper name, see *NB Copt.* s.v.; for a saint of this name, see De Lacy O’Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* (London and New

York 1937) 231-232, and the references given there. The translation should thus be “Pijimi, the son of Mena.”

16. No. 38, fold-out Pl. 10.7. *Ed. princ.* Greek (and Coptic?) graffito scratched in the northern wall. The text begins with Κύριε βοήθη (for βοήθει) “Lord, help,” and asks for mercy or remembrance τῆς μητρὸς (read μητρὸς) ἡμῶν “of our mother” on behalf of her son Georgios.

17. No. 40, fold-out Pl. 10.7. *Ed. princ.* Coptic *dipinto* painted in red on the northern wall. The text begins with an invocation of God (ϫϩ), then asks for help (ΔΡΙ ΒΟΗΘΙΝ) for Iakob. At l. 3, the editors read ΕΜ ΦΝΑΥ Τῆ ΘΑΝΑΤῆ . The fold-out plate, however, shows that the last word of the line is ΔΝΑΓΚΙ or ΔΝΑΓΚΗ . One should therefore read $\text{ΕΜ ΦΝΑΥ . . . ΔΝΑΓΚΙ}$ “in the moment of my (?) necessity (that is, my death).” For ΔΝΑΓΚΗ as “(the hour of) death,” see *I.Khartoum Copt.*, pp. 42-43. The last line is probably the beginning of another inscription (+ ΔΡ[Ι] ?).

18. No. 44, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which asks for remembrance of the weak (ΠΙΧΩΒ) Georgi “in your prayers” (ΒΕΝ ΝΕΤΕΝΤΩΒΞ).

19. No. 45, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which asks for remembrance of the most humble sinner Ioannes and continues with “may God give him rest. Amen.”

20. No. 46, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic or Greek graffito scratched in the eastern wall, a writing exercise (four Δ ’s).

21. No. 48, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which asks to remember the weak Georgi “in your prayers.” The text is almost identical to no. 44 (**18**).

22. No. 50, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which mentions the weak (ΠΙΧΩΠ) ΓΕΩ . . . (possibly Georgi as in nos. 44 [**18**] and 48 [**21**]) and asks for prayer (ΩΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΡ).

23. No. 51, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which asks for mercy for the weak Moses.

24. No. 54, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which asks for remembrance.

25. No. 56, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Greek *dipinto* painted in red in the eastern wall, which asks for help (βοήθησον).

26. No. 58, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which asks for remembrance of ΠΧΕΩΡ ΕΛ . The reading suggested by Bosson in the commentary ($\text{ΠΔΕ<Ι>ΩΤ ΕΛ(ΔΧΙCΤΟC)}$ “my most humble father”) seems more likely, though the fold-out plate suggests that the last word is written ΕΛ(Δ)Χ(ΙCΤΟC) .

27. No. 59, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Greek graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which begins with Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη (read βοήθει) and finishes with ἐν ἡρήνῃ (read εἰρήνῃ) ἀμήν “in peace, amen.” The reading in between beginning and end is difficult. The editors suggest ἡ . | . ἀ . . ἰΝΚΟΙ ΤΟΙΣ | ΗΕΝΘ . ΝΤΟΥ, but on the basis of the fold-out plate ll. 1-3 may be read as ἡ|μοῖν (read ἡμῖν) καὶ τοῖς | πεδίοις (read παιδίοις) ἡμῶν (?) “us and our children.”

28. No. 62, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic *dipinto* painted in red on the eastern wall, which asks to remember my brother (ΜΠΑΚΟΝ) ΜΗ|ΝΙΔΑΤΑΤΟ (reading uncertain) from ΤΩΝΝΙΟΥΔ ΑΜΙΘΩΡ (?).

29. No. 66, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall. The text is edited as ΠΙΣΟΝ ΔΕΡΔΑΔΜ ΜΑΣΤΕΡΙ. The last term is interpreted as consisting of ΜΑΣΤΕ “hate” and ΡΙ “cell” and would mean “claustrophobe,” perhaps here in an ironic sense for a monk who did not like to stay too long in his cell. Another solution would be to understand ΡΙ as an abbreviation (note the abbreviation mark), for example for ΡΩΜΙ: if so, it would mean “misanthrope.” From the fold-out plate, it appears that the first word is rather ΠΑΚΟΝ (the space between π and c seems too large for an ι; cf. also no. 62 = 28) and that no. 67 (of uncertain reading: ΗΕΩΕ) continues the text.

30. No. 69, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which asks to remember the weak Appa Isak. The text continues with ԾԵՆ ՆԵՏԵՂՅԷ (probably read ՆԵՏԵՆՏՈՅ[2] “in your prayers”) and a Zacharias is also mentioned.

31. No. 70, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which asks to remember Isidoro(s); the text is preceded and followed by a few letters.

32. No. 71, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which asks to remember the weak ԻՃ[. The editors propose to read <Ե>Ի(ԴՈՐ) (?), but this seems unlikely.

33. No. 72, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic or Greek graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which begins with the symbol ΧΜΓ and mentions the name СТЕΠΑΝЕ.

34. No. 73, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall with a short invocation of God and Jesus Christ (ΠΟС Φ† ΙС ΠΧС), followed by ԴԻ[.]ՈՐԻ Ա[Մ]ԻՆ ԱՄԻՆ, where the first word can perhaps be read as ԴԻ[Ր]ԻՆԻ “peace.”

35. No. 74, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which asks to remember the weak Aba Georgi, [Ν]ΤΕ Φ† Χ[Ω] ΝΑϢ ΕΒΟ[Λ] ΑΜΗΝ “may God forgive him. Amen.”

36. No. 75, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which asks to remember Paule and Mena, $\overline{\text{NΔΕ ΠΘΣ ΧΩ ΝΔΥ ΕΒΟΛ}}$ “may the Lord forgive them.”

37. No. 76, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which asks God for benediction after what are interpreted as names ($\overline{\text{ΔΠΡΩΜΙ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΡΑΒΔΑΜΙ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΕΡΕΖΠ}}$, and $\overline{\text{ΝΔΕΠ}}$).

38. No. 117, fold-out Pl. 10.8. *Ed. princ.* Coptic or Greek graffito scratched in the eastern wall, which reads $\overline{\text{ΚΙΚΙ}}$ and is translated as “castor oil,” but could also be a name (cf. SB 20.14282.50).

39. No. 124, Fig. 94, fold-out Pl. 10.5, Pl. 51.1. *Ed. princ.* Coptic *dipinto* painted in red on the southern wall with an invocation of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, followed by a request for help ($\overline{\text{ΔΡΙ ΒΟΙΘΙ ΕΡΟΝ}}$).

40. No. 130, Fig. 97, fold-out Pl. 4.3. *Ed. princ.* Coptic *dipinto* painted in red on the eastern wall of room 62 (the baptistery). After a lacuna, the text asks Jesus Christ to give rest to “his soul.” In what follows, one can see a request for forgiveness. The (same?) text then continues asking God for mercy ($\overline{\text{ΔΡΙ ΝΑΙ}}$ [?], or should one perhaps consider $\overline{\text{ΔΡΙ ΦΜΕΥΙ}}$ “remember”?) for the weak Apollo Pion (?), from Pshan.

41. No. 132, Fig. 98, fold-out Pl. 4.3, Pl. 51.5. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall of room 63 (annex of room 61), which asks to remember the weak deacon Theognostos.

42. No. 133, Fig. 99, Pl. 51.6. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall of room 63 (annex of room 61), which asks God to give rest to $\overline{\text{ΠΜΑΚΑΡ}^{\text{c}} \text{ ΓΕΩΓ}}$, which is translated as “bienheu(reux) Geô(r)g(ios),” though the reading is quite doubtful.

43. No. 134, Fig. 100, fold-out Pl. 4.3, Pl. 51.6. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall of room 63 (annex of room 61), with the enigmatic inscription: $\overline{\text{ΚΕΧΙΝΙ}}$, which is translated as “autre (?) manière d’aller (?)”. On Pl. 51.5, an λ is visible above the text.

44. No. 135, Fig. 101, fold-out Pl. 4.3, Pl. 52.1. *Ed. princ.* Coptic graffito scratched in the eastern wall of room 63 (annex of room 61), which is edited as $\overline{[\eta] \Delta \text{ΜΑ} \text{ ΜΜΔΥ}}$ “my place is here,” but the reading of the first few letters is extremely doubtful.

45. No. 136, Fig. 102, Pl. 52.2. *Ed. princ.* Coptic *dipinto* painted in red on the eastern wall of room 71. The text mentions $\overline{\text{ΙΩΨΑΝΝΗΣ}}$, which may be followed by another name ($\overline{\text{ΒΙΚΗ?}}$), who is referred to as $\overline{\text{ΟΥ'ΒΩΚ ΕΚ}}$ “servant of the church ($\overline{\text{ΕΚ(ΚΛΗΣΙΑ)}}$) (?)”.

46. No. 143, Fig. 105, fold-out Pl. 6.1, Pl. 53.1. *Ed. princ.* Coptic *dipinto* painted in black on the eastern wall of room 121. The 12 lines of text are enclosed by a *tabula ansata*. The text is badly damaged and begins with a request

(†ΤΩΒΞ ΟΥΟΞ [†ΕΡ]ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙΝ). A priest is mentioned in l. 4 and the text ends with ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΠΙΡΕΜΡΗΣ “Biktor, the man from the south” written in large letters. The inscription probably dates to the 6th century (cf. p. 311).

47. No. 147, Fig. 108, fold-out Pl. 6.6, Pl. 53.4; cf. also p. 381, Fig. 199. *Ed. princ.* Greek *dipinto* painted in black on the southern wall of room 134/135. The word Στέφανος is written five times, which could be either a proper name or the word for “crown.”

48. No. 149, fold-out Pl. 6.6, Pl. 63.3; cf. also p. 381, Fig. 201. *Ed. princ.* Coptic *dipinto* painted in red on the southern wall of room 134/135. The text (ΤΩΒΞ ΕΧΩΐ “pray for me”) is written vertically on a cross; it is continued by no. 150 (49).

49. No. 150, fold-out Pl. 6.6, Pl. 63.3; cf. also p. 381, Fig. 201. *Ed. princ.* Coptic *dipinto* painted in red on the southern wall of room 134/135. The text continues no. 149 (48) and is written on the horizontal bar of the same cross. It mentions Ioannes from (?) Arbat.

50. No. 152, Fig. 110, fold-out Pl. 6.6, Pl. 63.3; cf. also p. 381, Fig. 201. *Ed. princ.* Greek *dipinto* painted in black on the southern wall of room 134/135, with the memorial for a monk. L. 2 reads ὑπὲ[ρ] κυμῆσεως (read κοιμῆσεως) καὶ ἀ[ν]απ[αύσεως; l. 3 τοῦ ἀ[δελ]φοῦ ἡμῶν. In ll. 4-5, the reading ἐγρά-][φ]η ιε [, interpreted as “written the 15th,” is doubtful.

51-52. Faiyum. Two Coptic funerary stelae, 7th-10th cent. *Ed. princ.* L.H. Blumell and M. Hussen, “Two Coptic Epitaphs in the Kom Aushim Storage Magazine,” *Cd’É* 89 (2014) 405-411. Two funerary stelae discovered in the storage depot of Kom Aushim (Karanis), written in the Faiyumic dialect and broadly assigned to the 7th-10th centuries. There are no indications to further pinpoint their place of origin within the Faiyum. The stelae are of limestone and undecorated. Their principal interest is the (fairly rare) use of **cn-** (fem.) for “indiction year.”

51. Kom Aushim inv. 323. *Ed. princ.* Blumell and Hussen, pp. 405-408 (no. 1), Fig. 1. The stela (28.5 x 18 x 8.5 cm) is broken at the top and the lower left corner but the margins to the left, right and bottom have been preserved. Since ll. 1-2 contain the typical opening formula Φ(ΝΟΥ)† [ΔΛΙ ΟΥ]ΝΕΙ “God, have mercy,” probably no text is missing above and the entire text can be reconstructed. The opening formula is followed by the name of the deceased, Thiogli (ll. 2-3), so far unattested, which the editors interpret as a variant spelling of the name Theokles. The text continues with the formula ΝΤΔΦΜΤΑΝ ΜΔΦ “who went to rest” (ll. 3-5) and the date (ll. 5-7). In the closing formula (ll. 7-9), which is transcribed as ʒ[Ν] ʒΙΡΗΝΗ [ʒ]ΔΜΗΝ “in peace, amen,” though the space is tight, there seems enough room for inserting the usual indefinite article ΟΥ- in

the lacuna after [N] (l. 8), and the reading of the N of [2]ΔΜΗΝ (l. 9) is certain, hence read 2[N ΟΥ]2ΙΡΗΝΗ [2]ΔΜΗΝ.

52. Kom Aushim inv. 503. *Ed. princ.* Blumell and Hussen, pp. 408-410 (no. 2), Fig. 2. This stela (24.5 x 21.5 x 7 cm) is much more neatly written than the preceding one. Again, left, right and bottom margins have been preserved, but the top is missing. The editors reconstruct ΕΤ[ΕΥΥ]ΧΗ in the first two legible lines, with [† ΜΤΑΝ] in the line above (ll. 1-3: “give rest to the soul”). The editors are right to note that this formula is often preceded by invocations and other phrases, and that it is likely that more text is missing above. However, since different variations of the formula are attested and it cannot be known for certain that l. 1 indeed consisted of † ΜΤΑΝ, it would have been better to start the text with the first legible line (what is now l. 2) and to restrict discussion about the missing text to the commentary. The remainder of the inscription consists of the name of the deceased, Papa Paoule (ll. 3-5), and the date (ll. 5-8). The editors interpret the number of the day, which is transcribed as ΜΕΤ ΙΘ (ll. 5-6), as a scribal error, in which the stonecutter at first wanted to write the number in full and started with the prefixal component ΜΕΤ- but then for lack of space decided to use the shorter notation ΙΘ “19,” without erasing ΜΕΤ-. However, such a hybrid notation, consisting in part of the written out form, in part of the alphabetic figure with supralinear stroke, is a known phenomenon in Coptic (e.g. *SB Kopt.* 4.1778.30: ΜΕΤΙΒ “12”), and therefore no scribal error: read ΜΕΤΙΘ “19” instead of ΜΕΤ ΙΘ “ten (*sic*), 19th.”

53. el-Sheikh ‘Ibada region. Greek and Coptic inscriptions in monastic settlements. G.J.M. van Loon and A. Delattre, “Patterns of Monastic Habitation on the East Bank of the Nile in Middle Egypt: Dayr al-Dik, Dayr Abū Ḥinnis, and al-Shaykh Sa’id,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 16 (2014) 235-278. The first author surveys the spatial organization of three monastic settlements in the region: Deir el-Dik, Deir Abu Hennes, and el-Sheikh Sa’id, the first two of which are situated in pharaonic quarries, the third in pharaonic tombs. In an appendix (pp. 255-264), the second author gives an idea of the inscriptions under study from these three sites. For the most part, those of Deir el-Dik have been published by J. Jarry in M. Martin, *La laure de Dêr al Dîk à Antinoé* (Cairo 1971) 71-86, but the author presents some new readings, most notably of the invocation at p. 256 (Fig. 9): Ι[Ç] ΧÇ [Β]ΟΗΘ[ΕΙ]Α (read ΒΟΗΘΕΙ; see Förster, *WB* s.v. βοηθέω for parallels) ΕCΙΛΒΑΝΕ “Jesus Christ, help Silbane.”

The inscriptions from Deir Abu Hennes are far more abundant than those of the other two sites and consist of more than 400 inscriptions, of which only ca. 80 have been published before. Most of them are in Coptic and Greek, but there are also 3 in Syriac, 1 in Ge’ez, and several in Arabic. The majority of the inscriptions is concentrated in two places with a communal function, the

church (almost 100) and quarry DAH 033 (more than 150 inscriptions); a further ca. 172 texts are found in monks' cells. Some of these the author interprets as intended for seclusion, as appears e.g. from a Coptic *dipinto* in a room in the church mentioning a certain Mena, who in the improved reading of the first three lines by the author at p. 258 (Fig. 10) states that ἀἱεὶ ἐ[σογν] ἐνεῖτοπος ἐτογὰδ δῖω $\overline{\text{N}}_2[\text{HT}]\overline{\text{Q}}$ "I entered this holy place and stayed here," followed by the dates he spent in the cell (in the translation read "le plus humble" for "I humble"). In a similar way, four unpublished inscriptions from quarry DAH 008 mention days and months, probably recording the duration of the seclusion. Regarding the dispersal of the inscriptions, the author notes a clustering of graffiti around the 10 funerary texts from the site. A particularly illustrative example is the epitaph of Apa Lots (p. 261, Fig. 11), which consists of a simple but neatly written Greek inscription of the ἐκοιμήθη "he went to rest"-type, with an ornately carved *crux ansata* (*ankh*-cross) flanked by two palm branches underneath. Around the text are several inscriptions, one calling Apa Lots ὁ ἅγιος πατήρ ἡμῶν "our holy father," which the author takes as evidence for the creation of a funerary cult in the former cell of the deceased monk.

At el-Sheikh Sa'id, inscriptions are restricted to tombs 6, 25 and 39. Tomb 6 contains a list of names, including Apa Lots, which may well be the just mentioned monk venerated in Deir Abu Hennes. For tomb 39, the author draws attention to a Coptic *dipinto* of 14 lines, which is a dedication of a church – a rare type of text in Coptic –, in this case to Michael the Archangel and dated to 1151.

54-55. el-Sheikh 'Ibada (Antinoopolis). One Greek and one Coptic funerary stela. R. Pintaudi et al., "Latrones: Furti e recuperi da Antinoupolis," *Analecta Papyrologica* 26 (2014) 359-402. A side effect of the Revolution of January 2011 has been the increasing number of illegal activities on sites throughout Egypt. This article publishes some artifacts from Antinoopolis that were unearthed through clandestine digs, but have been recovered thanks to the efforts of the Italian mission. Among the artifacts are two Christian epitaphs, one in Greek and one in Coptic, which probably both derive from the North Necropolis.

54. Greek funerary stela, 6th-7th cent. Ed. princ. L. Del Corso and R. Pintaudi in Pintaudi et al., pp. 379-383 (no. 3). Epitaph of Isaak written on a reused marble slab (30 x 40 x 4.5 cm) which was already broken at the bottom and had a damaged surface in Antiquity, as appears clearly from the adaptations that the stone cutter had to make while incising the inscription (esp. ll. 10, 12-14). The writing conforms to the scribal features of inscriptions from Antinoe, in particular the cross bar of the α, which consists of two slanting lines crossing each other. The stone cutter used two *nomina sacra* (ll. 5, 9) and

several abbreviations, especially in the last couple of lines where he had to follow the break in the stone and the letters are also more crunched together (ll. 12-13). The letters α and ω are written as a monogram above the text (l. 1), the text starts with a simple cross (l. 2) and a cross with flared endings is added in the left margin between ll. 4-5.

The text opens with ἐνθάδε κεύθει τὸ σῶμα “(the earth) covers the body of” (ll. 2-3), followed by the name of the deceased, in which κεύθει has a poetical connotation. However, since κεύθει is only twice attested (Bernard, *Inscr. métr.* 4.1 and 27.8) and never connected to ἐνθάδε or σῶμα in inscriptions from Egypt, and it requires an implied word for earth (e.g. γαῖα), the alternative suggested by the editors, to see ἐνθάδε κεύθει as a rendering of the common opening phrase ἐνθάδε κεῖται, seems preferable, also because a stela from Hermonthis (Lefebvre, *Recueil* 423.3) has the same formula σῶμα (...) ἐνθάδε κεῖται “here lies the body of,” with the name of the deceased. The rest of the text deviates from the standard structure of Greek funerary inscriptions and has undergone some literary elaboration, in particular by adding three allusions to the letters of Paul (ll. 4-5: ἐνδημήσαντος πρὸς Κ(ύριο)ν, cf. 2 Cor. 5:8; ll. 5-6: ἀδιάλειπτον ὁδύνην, cf. e.g. Rom. 9:2; l. 8: οἰκτειρῶν [read οἰκτιρῶν], cf. e.g. Rom. 12:1, 2 Cor. 1:3).

55. Coptic funerary stela, 29 October 794. *Ed. princ.* A. Delattre in Pintaudi et al., pp. 389-393 (no. 5). Well-preserved epitaph of the young mason Abakyre on a rectangular slab of marble (38 x 23.5 x 2.2 cm), with a small hole in the bottom intended for inclusion in a funerary monument. The text starts with a cross with forked endings (cross “fourchée”), and has two more crosses of this type on either side of the hole at the bottom of the inscription. The text adds to the *corpus* of inscriptions of the *Totenklage*-type, which is well represented in Antinoe. It starts with an invocation of life (ll. 1-3) and death (ll. 4-6), to whom the despairing question is posed who will provide a “source of tears” (οὐγὴ γῆ ἡρμῆν, l. 7) to the “I” person’s eyes because of the grief for Abakyre (ll. 6-11). He lived under happy circumstances (ll. 12-15) but died prematurely when a wall collapsed over him and he was crushed by its weight (ll. 15-20). The commentary shows how for each part similar formulations are attested in other inscriptions of this type, which indicates that the compilers of these texts worked from a stock of expressions, then moulded them into a new form. In l. 10, Abakyre is called a ⲙⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲏⲙ, which often means a “small child” but can also refer to a young person, which is evidently the case here since he is denoted ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲧ “the mason” (l. 11). Besides, the youthfulness of the deceased is often emphasized in the *Totenklage*-texts. The dating formula (ll. 21-22) includes the Diocletian year and provides the precise date.

56-65. el-Sheikh 'Ibada (Antinoopolis). Ten Greek and Coptic inscriptions, 6th-8th cent. *Ed. princ.* A. Delattre, "Annexe. Les inscriptions," in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinopolis II. Scavi e materiali* (Florence 2014) 355-357 (nos. 1-10), Figs. 27-36. Appended to an architectural study of the monastery of Deir el-Hawa (just north of the North Necropolis of Antinoopolis) is an edition of 10 inscriptions discovered at the site in 2010. The fragments, made of limestone or marble, are extremely damaged and were reused for other monuments in Antiquity, as appears from the signs of repurposing on the surface. In the cases where enough can be made out to determine the language, six are in Coptic (nos. 2-5, 8-9 = **57-60, 63-64**) and two in Greek (nos. 6, 10 = **61, 65**). Of these four can be identified as funerary stelae (nos. 5-6, 9-10 = **60-61, 64-65**), and three more probably as well (nos. 3-4, 8 = **58-59, 63**), so that most of these fragments, if not all of them, are the remains of epitaphs. The two Greek stelae (nos. 6 = **61** and 10 = **65**), both of the ἐκοιμήθη "he/she went to rest"-type, are for a man (ὁ μ[ακάριος]) and a woman (ἡ μακ[αρ]ία Πα[ῦλ]α), respectively, which the editor sees as an indication either that people from outside the monastic community were also buried here or that the stelae are originally from the North Cemetery and were reused at the monastery later on. Of the identifiable Coptic inscriptions, the editor tentatively reconstructs no. 5 (**60**) as [+ πνογτε ν]φλ{ }γιος [κολλογῶ]ος ἐκε[ρ] ογνα μν τεψγχη ν "God of the holy Kollouthos, may you have mercy on the soul of." No. 9 (**64**) may contain the formula ΝΤΑϢΜΤΟΝ ΜΜ]ΟϢ "he went to rest," followed by the date.

66. Wannina (Athribis). Coptic inscription. S.L. Lippert, "Ostraca, Graffiti and *Dipinti* from Athribis in Upper Egypt – A Preview," in M. Depauw and Y. Broux (eds.), *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies* (Leuven 2014) 145-153. Preliminary survey of the ostraka and inscriptions that have come to light in the context of the German-Egyptian excavation project at Athribis, concentrating specifically on the Demotic material. At pp. 146-147 a large Coptic *dipinto* is mentioned, which was painted on the wall of the peristyle of the temple of Ptolemy XII and dates to the time when the temple had been incorporated in the nunnery that was part of Shenoute's monastic network (from the early 5th century onwards).

67-78. Naqada – Qamula, desert hinterland. Rock graffiti, Late Antique or early Islamic. *Ed. princ.* J.C. Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey, Vol. 2: The Rock Shrine of Pahu, Gebel Akhenaton, and Other Rock Inscriptions from the Western Hinterland of Naqada* (New Haven 2013). Sumptuous publication of rock inscriptions from various periods and sites in the Western Desert just north of the Theban region. Those classed as "Coptic" (about 30) are attributed to "late anchorites" (the meaning of this term remains unclear), who are sup-

posed to have fled the populous monasteries of nearby Naqada and Qamula (p. 2). The publication of such ensembles of graffiti from a poorly accessible region is important, but not all the challenges of the project have been successfully met. A detailed map of the area is lacking (purportedly not to encourage robbers) and the position of the graffiti cannot always easily be deduced from the photos and location charts. Many inscriptions lack a photographic record, for unstated reasons. The plates often merely duplicate the facsimiles already given in the text without adding any further information, besides a scale (no other measurements are given).

The texts comprise figural as well as textual graffiti (76 below is a rare *dipinto*). The former include crosses, praying figures (*orantes*), a bearded male head (p. 66, no. 28) and horsemen, one of them (pp. 29-30, no. 14) marked ΘΕΔΡΕ and plausibly interpreted as St. Theodore the General, one of several homonymous martyrs. The decipherment of the textual graffiti, some of which use cryptography, poses considerable problems, not all of which can be solved satisfactorily. Most consist of proper names and sometimes brief prayers. They exhibit in varying degrees traces of the Theban dialect. Here we discuss only those that present some interest or call for comments (quoted by page, serial and plate numbers).

67. Darnell, p. 28, no. 12, Pl. 26. *Ed. princ.* The name χαηλ (inscribed over an earlier boat scene) is rendered as [μι]χαηλ by the editor, but may be complete as it stands (Chael).

68. Darnell, p. 51, no. 21, Pl. 48. *Ed. princ.* The graffito records a rare + ΜΑΡΙΑ | ΜΑΚΤΑΛΕΝΕ, Mary Magdalene.

69. Darnell, pp. 61-62, no. 24, Pl. 56. *Ed. princ.* Another graffito inscribed over an earlier boat scene. We prefer to read ΔΝΟΚ ΙΑΚΩΒ | ΔΙΕΙ ΕΠΙΜΑ (the editor has ΔΥΩ ΠΙΜΑ) "I, Iakob, came to this place," a reading envisaged but rejected by the editor.

70. Darnell, pp. 104-105, no. B4, Pls. 113 and 121-122. *Ed. princ.* Read ΦΕΩΔ, probably for ΘΕΟΔ(ωρος), Theodore, with Φ for Θ as in pp. 106-107, no. B6: ΠΕCΗΝΦΙ for ΠΕCΗΝΘΙ (Pesenthi).

71. Darnell, pp. 106-107, no. B6, pl. 113 and 126-129. *Ed. princ.* We prefer to read ΔΝΟΚ ΙΩΝΟΥ as ΔΝΟΚ ΙΩ ΠΟΥ(ΗΡΕ Ν/Μ ...) "I, Iohannes, the son of ...," instead of a dubious name ΙΩΝΟΥ. This graffito is plausibly an unfinished repetition of the line above (+ ΔΝΟΚ ΙΕΩΔΑΝ'ΗC' ΠΟΥΗΡΕ ΜΠΑΔΑΜ), using a common abbreviation ΙΩ for ΙΩΔΑΝΝΗΣ, found also in no. B5.

72. Darnell, pp. 113-114, no. B23, Pl. 114 and 139. *Ed. princ.* The graffito, partly written in a frame, remains enigmatic:

++ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕΛΔ-
ΧΕΙCΤΟC

ΕΤΙC2ΔΙ ΝΝΕ-
 ΨΔΧΕ ΜΜΝΤ-
 5 ΖΗΚΕ ΕΤΞΕ ΠΚΕCΗΠΕ
 ΝΥΥΧΗ ΝΤΑΙ
 +ΗΓ

“It is me, this most humble one, who writes these poor words on behalf of the other souls of mine (?)” Ll. 5-6 seem to be read correctly (but note that ΗΠΕ, at the end of l. 5, is not on the photo), but would be unparalleled (the editor interprets the “souls” as “persons”). In l. 7 (not on the photo) +ΗΓ is interpreted by the editor as ΧΜΓ (?).

73. Darnell, pp. 114-115, no. B24, Pl. 114 and 140. *Ed. princ.* The interpretation of the enigmatic phrase Μ|ΠΡΗΡΕΠΑΤΖΠ (rather: ΠΡΗΡΕΠΑΤΖΠ'Μ') proposed by editor (“do not act according to/strive for lawlessness [?]”) seems impossible to us (perhaps read ΠΡΗΡ ΕΠΑΤΖ{Π}Μ, “Preῖ, son of Pathem?”).

74. Darnell, p. 140, no. 20, Pl. 214. *Ed. princ.* In ΠΑΥΛΟΣ | ΜΠΙΕC|ΝΔΙ “Paulos from Piesnai,” the latter name is plausibly interpreted by the editor as a variant of the toponym ΠΕCΙΝΔΙ, in the vicinity of Qus (cf. Timm 1.410-412).

75. Darnell, p. 140, no. 21, Pl. 218. *Ed. princ.* After ΔΝΟΚ, the text reads ΠΔ, not the editor’s Π†Δ: ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔ, | ΠΑΥΛΟΣ “I, the deacon Paulos.” This may be the same Paulos as the one in the previous graffito, which is next to it.

76. Darnell, pp. 141-142, no. 29, Pl. 231. *Ed. princ.* We read:

ΛΔΟΥΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ
 ΕΓΝΕΟΥΔΖΕ ΝΔ ΝΕΜΔ
 ΕΡΕ ΠΝΔΙΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΤΕΖΔΥ

“As for anybody who will dwell in these places, may the mercy of God fall to him.” The interpretation of the editor is unacceptable (ΤΕΖΔ in l. 4 is a frequent spelling of ΤΑΖΟ). Note that the second half of l. 2 seems to be written below an erasure and the remainder of l. 4 also seems to be erased (these apparent erasures are neither rendered in the fascimile nor discussed by the editor). The Ν in ΠΝΟΥΤΕ (l. 3) is incorporated within the Π (the scribe probably at first omitted the Π and then added a stroke above the Ν to make up for the omission).

77. Darnell, pp. 158-159, nos. 1 and 2, Pls. 244-245. *Ed. princ.* These are two largely similar acclamations, remarkable for their wild spellings and the “iconic” arrangement of the elements of the text. No. 1 reads:

†
 † ΠΑΧΔΥΕΙC †
 α ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ Ω
 ΠΩΤ ΙC ΧC ΦΕΡΡΕ
 ΠΕΠΝΕΥΜΕ
 ΕΤΤΒΑΒ
 †

“+ My Lord (and) my God (cf. John 20:28)! *Alpha-omega*. The Father – Jesus-Christ – the Son – the Holy Spirit +.” Note that in both cases the *alpha* of l. 2 is inverted; no. 2, l. 4, spells ΠΕΠΝΕΥΜΕ <Ε>ΤΒΑΒ.

78. Darnell, pp. 159-160, no no., Pl. 246. *Ed. princ.* A prayer:

ΔΝΟΚ ΠΙΤΑΛΕΠΟ-
 ΡΟC
 ΙΑΚΩΒ ΜΠCΕΝΤΙΩC
 ΔΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΨΑΗΛ
 5 ΕΧΩΙ ΧΕ †ΩΟΤ
 ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥ-
 ΤΕ ΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ †

“As for me, this miserable Iakob, son of Psentios, be so kind and pray for me, for I badly need that God forgives me! +.” Several parallels are quoted. The editor takes the filiation in l. 3 for the name of a monastery, for which, however, there seems to be no cogent reason.

79. Dakhleh Oasis (Amheida). Preliminary results of excavations. R.S. Bagnall, *Eine Wüstenstadt. Leben und Kultur in einer ägyptischen Oase im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Stuttgart 2013). In this booklet, the author gives a concise account of the excavations that have been conducted so far at Amheida (Trimithis) and what they reveal about life and culture at the site in Late Antiquity. Among the evidence for the presence of Christianity on Thoth's Hill in the 4th century two inscriptions are mentioned (pp. 24-27). One of these is a Coptic inscription on a block (inv. 3053) apparently mentioning ΠΝΟΥΤΕ “God,” which is written above a Greek hexameter in honour of Ammon and which the author interprets as a Christian commentary on the Greek inscription (see also R.S. Bagnall and R. Cribiore, “Christianity on Thoth's Hill,” in R.S. Bagnall, P. Davoli, and C. Hope [eds.], *The Oasis Papers 6. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project* [Oxford 2012] 409-415).

80. Nubia. Christianization. J.H.F. Dijkstra, “Nubia,” in W. Tabbernee (ed.), *Early Christianity in Contexts: An Exploration across Cultures and Con-*

tinents (Grand Rapids 2014) 214-222. Brief discussion of the Christianization of Nubia (5th-6th centuries), emphasizing the gradual character of the religious transformation process. Due attention is paid to the epigraphic record in Greek (inscriptions at the temples of Tafa [Taphis] and Kalabsha [Talmis]) and Sahidic Coptic (Dendur inscription, a new translation of which is offered at p. 220).

81. Nubia. Multilingualism. G. Ochała, “Multilingualism in Christian Nubia: Qualitative and Quantative Approaches,” *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies* 1 (2014) 1-50 (available online at <http://digitalcommons.fairfield.edu/djns/vol1/iss1/1>). A survey of the relative distribution of the three main literary languages of Christian Nubia (Greek, Sahidic Coptic, Old Nubian) in terms of typology, chronology and geography, based upon the material assembled in the author’s Database of Medieval Nubian Texts (available online at www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl). Epigraphic sources, epitaphs and dedicatory texts, but also e.g. visitors’ graffiti, make up the bulk of the material. The conclusions often confirm the impressions of earlier studies, but the author’s precise statistics offer a more reliable basis for a future reconstruction of medieval Nubian epigraphic habits and their development over time.

82. Nubia. Angelic names. A. Tsakos, “Miscellanea Epigraphica Nubica V: The Names of the Four Creatures of the Apocalypse in Christian Nubia,” *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 11 (2014) 253-263. The names of the Four Creatures, venerated in Egypt and Nubia as angelic beings in their own right, are known from legends of wall paintings in Abdallah Nirqi, Faras, and Dongola as well as “magical” texts from Egypt. The author assembles the material and compares the Nubian legends with the much more varied Egyptian material. The Nubian forms of the names (ΜΕΛΙΤΩΝ, ΑΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑΝ, ΠΑΡΑΜΥΡΑ, ΠΕΙΣΟΥΡΟΥΘΙΟΝ) appear to be closest to those in the Coptic *grimoire* P.Heid. inv. 686 (formerly 1686), l. 112 (ed. A. Kropp, *Der Lobpreis des Erzengels Michael* (vormals P. Heidelberg Inv. Nr. 1686) [Brussels 1966] 31).

83. Lower Nubia. Inscriptions as historical sources. J.H.F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher, “General Introduction,” in J.H.F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher (eds.), *Inside and Out: Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Leuven 2014) 1-31. The authors reassess the evidence for the peoples living on the Arabian and Egyptian frontiers and their interactions with the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity, insisting on the importance of the “inside sources,” that is the sources, especially inscriptions, produced by these peoples themselves, in contrast with the “outside sources,”

mostly literary sources that provide a Roman, outsider view on both frontier areas. At pp. 20-25, the first author briefly introduces the Egyptian frontier.

84. Lower Nubia. Greek inscriptions, 4th-5th cent. J.H.F. Dijkstra, “I, Silko, Came to Talmis and Taphis’: Interactions between the Peoples beyond the Egyptian Frontier and Rome in Late Antiquity,” in J.H.F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher (eds.), *Inside and Out: Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Leuven 2014) 299-330. The article is devoted to the 4th- and 5th-century tribal society of northern Lower Nubia and its interactions with the Roman Empire, as appears in particular from the “inside sources,” the papyri and inscriptions written by the peoples from this area themselves (thus working out further the introductory remarks in 83). As one of the key witnesses, the author discusses the 5th-century inscription of the Noubadian chieftain Silko from the temple of Mandulis at Kalabsha (Talmis) (SB 5.8536 = *I.Prose* 67 = *FHN* 3.317), which illustrates the ambiguous position of such chiefs in between their tribe(s) and Rome, a situation that is well-known from the Arabian frontier (note that on the basis of an autopsy of the inscription, at pp. 319-322 [Figs. 1-3] he refutes the connection that has often been made between the inscription and a figure of a man on horseback incised several blocks lower on the same wall). The author also sees the Silko inscription as showcasing the growing self-awareness of the Noubades in the 5th century, which eventually led to the creation of the Kingdom of Noubadia in the 6th century.

85. Kalabsha (Talmis). Greek inscriptions by Blemmyes, 5th cent. H. Satzinger, “The ‘Barbarian’ Names on the Third-Century Ostraka from Xeron,” in J.H.F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher (eds.), *Inside and Out: Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Leuven 2014) 199-212. The author compares the “barbarian” names on the 3rd-century Greek ostraka from the *praesidium* of Xeron in the Eastern Desert with those of the Blemmyes known from the 5th-century inscriptions of the Mandulis temple at Kalabsha and the 6th-century papyri on leather from Gebelein (Pathyris). It turns out that no name from the ostraka can be securely related to those of the Blemmyes mentioned in the 5th- and 6th-century texts, even if the structure of the language appears to be similar (cf. also the remarks on this matter by H. Cuvigny at pp. 194-197 in the same volume).

86. Dongola. Tombstone of a member of the royal family, 21 December 1057. *Ed. princ.* A. Lajtar, “Epitaph of Staurosafa († 1057), Granddaughter (?) of a King Zakharias, Found in Dongola,” in A. Lohwasser and P. Wolf (eds.), *Ein Forscherleben zwischen den Welten. Zum 80. Geburtstag von Steffen Wenig*

(Berlin 2014) 221-228. Marble funerary stela (40 x 26.5 x 6.2 cm) of a woman (less likely a man) Staurosafña, the “grandchild” (ἐγγόνῃ, l. 7, but note that the word is abbreviated: ἐγγοῖν) of a King Zacharias, discovered in 2012 in a church on the Dongola citadel. Extensive and almost intact Greek epitaph of the “God of the spirits”-type, but lacking the habitual prayer for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs (expected in l. 8) and the second introduction of the deceased following the final doxology (due in l. 20). The final lines (ll. 20-23) state the age of the deceased (in a lacuna) and the date of her death (Sunday, 21 December 1057). In the printed text of l. 15, delete the pointed brackets around ὄς.

The stela is an important find, since epitaphs of Nubian royalty are scarce. The commentary discusses find circumstances, textual peculiarities, the Graeco-Nubian name of the deceased (“The-Cross-lives”), the possible reasons for stating her descent and the identity of her grandfather (several Nubian kings called Zacharias are attested for the 9th-11th centuries).

87. el-Tereif, Fourth Cataract region. Tattoo, medieval. *Ed. princ.* J.H. Taylor and D. Antoine, with M. Vandenbeusch, *New Discoveries: Eight Mummies, Eight Stories* (London 2014). Catalogue accompanying an exhibition. Pp. 170-185 (“A Christian Woman from the Sudan”) discuss the naturally preserved mummy of a woman, discovered in a Christian cemetery in the Fourth Cataract region. Interestingly, the monogram of St. Michael was found tattooed on the inner thigh of her right leg (pp. 182-185). The article discusses parallels for the tattoo and its apotropaic symbolism (most likely protection against abortion).

New Light on a Dark Corner of the Hermopolite Nome

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Review article of Chang, Ruey-Lin, *Un dossier fiscal hermapolitain d'époque romaine conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg* (*P. Strasb. inv. gr.* 897-898, 903-905, 939-968, 982-1000, 1010-1013, 1918-1929): *édition, commentaire et traduction* [= *P. Stras.* 901-903]. Bibliothèque générale 46. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2014. xxxi + 424 pages + 82 pages of scans on a separate CD-ROM. ISBN 978-2-7247-0649-9.

This hefty tome (2.36 kilograms) continues the serially numbered publication of the Strasbourg papyri after a lapse of 25 years. When Jacques Schwartz published the fifth and last fascicle of *P. Stras.* 9, with nos. 881-900, in 1989, it came in at just under 65 grams or 3 grams per text. In the new volume a text comes in at just under 800 grams. The difference is in part because of the size of the papyri edited in the volume under review, which should be referred to as *P. Stras.* 10, but mainly because of the scale of the introduction and commentaries. All texts are translated, which is essential for understanding complex tax accounts such as these. It would have been even more helpful if line numbers had been used also in the translations, but most fragments are not that long.

Of **901** less than half the text is preserved, and it is published here in full (cols. 6-44). Of **902** less than 25% is preserved, and it is published here in part (cols. 1-29, leaving cols. 30-65 unpublished). Of **903** less than 40% is preserved, and only one column (out of cols. 12-25) is here published (referred to as "DSS," "déclaration sous serment").

The editor refrains from generalizing about land ownership and the larger economy from the confused and often incomplete data in **901** and **902**, and this is reasonable in light of the loss of text (50-75%). The reconstruction of the order of the fragments of **901** and **902** is a *tour de force*. The column numbers helped with ordering the fragments from the top of the rolls, but not with ordering the fragments from the bottom of the rolls, which the editor positioned with the help of their size and shape only.

The introduction is quite substantial (the Greek text does not start until p. 143) and is divided into a discussion of the material aspects (over 30 pp.) and a generous discussion of the textual aspects (over 100 pp.). The former is mainly an account of how the editor reconstructed the rolls, amounting to a veritable methodology (pp. 24-37), worth pondering by editors confronted by similar conundrums.

Interpretation of 901 and 902

The editor defines **901** and **902** as “comptes rendus fiscaux finaux pour une année fiscale déterminée et pour des circonscriptions fiscales limitées et regroupées” (p. 100; “year-end tax reporting for certain tax districts” in English). The fiscal year is 99/100, but **902** records payments in year 4 of Trajan (100/101), while years 6 and 7 occur only in anticipation (in **901**.1.17, in the case of a long-term lease; one of the rare typos occurs in this line: read ἄρπουαι). Note that Pliny the Younger (*Panegyric* 31) suggests that 99/100 was a particularly bad year for Egypt, prompting the new emperor to send *annona* back to Egypt. This does not appear from the texts published here.

The interpretation of **901** and **902** by the editor is correct, but his French terminology may not be intelligible to all readers. He uses *assiette* for what the tax is assessed on (“how much is owned”; an amount of a certain type of land), and *liquidation* for the tax assessment itself (“how much is owed”; see p. xviii). The collection of taxes is referred to as *recouvrement* (“how much is paid”). The entries in **901** and **902** are in the order *assiette*, *liquidation*, *recouvrement*.

901 records tax payments in kind to the public granary (usually of the village of Pois) for “private” (katoikic) and “public” (*dioikesis*) land located at another village (in the accusative) owned or “leased” by villagers. *Onomata* of individual villagers are listed first in rough alphabetical order (by initial); later on “collectives” of annually appointed (κατ’ ἐνιαυτον; see p. 48, n. 53) village elders are listed. This contrasts with the unpublished parts of **903**, which record tax payments in kind to the public granary for “private” and “public” land (perhaps only at Tertonkano) owned or “leased” by absentee land owners resident in Hermopolis. **902** records tax payments in money to the public bank for land owned by villagers or absentee land owners in Hermopolis that arranges data sometimes by village (in the genitive), sometimes by person, and sometimes by the kind of tax.

901 and **902** relate to land near the villages of Sentryphis, Titkois (where the Bawit monastery was located), and Tertonkano (in that order), all three in the Lower Koussite toparchy, and they provide by far the oldest evidence for

these villages. **903** is an oath by the elders of the village of Tertonkano that they will be present in Hermopolis on a given date in Mesore.

The column width of texts **901** and **902** is uneven. In **901** it ranges from 9.5 to 12.9 cm, whereas in **902** it ranges from 10 to 16 cm. There is generous use of checkmarks, and these are also represented in the translation (in a consistent manner, explained on p. 145). There is a lengthy discussion (pp. 58-63), with images inserted in the text, of how fractions are written (mostly in **901**) and rendered in the transliteration. This is a must-read and must-see-for-yourself for all who are dealing with accounts with lots of fractions. L" represents L (1/2) and another fraction with two marks ("), in this case 1/24 (κ'δ'). γ" likewise represents two fractions: γ (1/3) and 1/24. ζ" represents ζ (1/6) and 1/24. The editor draws on contemporary evidence from the Hermopolite nome (*PFlor.* 3.386, *P.Laur.* 2.21, and *SB* 20.14078) and makes numerous corrections (pp. 62-63; on the last-mentioned text see also p. 77, n. 215). The editor goes over the abbreviations in the same manner, and this section of the introduction (pp. 66-78) is also eminently worth pondering (pp. 76-78 again lists numerous corrections to *PFlor.* 3.386, *P.Laur.* 2.21, and *SB* 20.14078). Note that he confirms the resolution of Γ with a long vertical crossing the horizontal bar as γ(ῆς κατοικικῆς) on pp. 69-70. On p. 71 he proposes the resolution of ἐπι'β' as ἐπι(δωδέκατον), a new charge. In one case a horizontal line follows a name, which the editor correctly interprets as a patronymic that is the same name as the son's.¹

The references in **902** to the columns of a register recording payments to the local (τόπων) bank show that that register had up to 79 columns and recorded the payments in chronological order from Thoth to Mesore (see the index, pp. 393-394). The references in **901** to the columns of registers recording payments to granaries are less straightforward. Most payments were made to the granary of the village of Pois, and its register had at least 109 columns (see the index, pp. 391-392). But payments made to the granaries of other villages are almost all recorded in column 1 of their respective registers, which is suspect. Only for the village of Monoï is there a payment also in column 22 of its register.

The editor shows how the tax collectors in the case of **901** manipulated the data to make their calculations easier, not to charge more. Since the land would be measured in *arourai*, for which there is one set of fractions, and the charges on the land (e.g., the ἀρταβεία) would be in *artabai* with another set of fractions, the manipulation consists of rounding the numbers of *arourai*

¹ He could have referred to the classic study of abbreviating homonyms: R. Koerner, *Die Abkürzung der Homonymität in griechischen Inschriften* (Berlin 1961).

up or down to whole numbers or more manageable fractions (e.g., 1/16 is rounded up to 1/12).

The measure used is twofold, as we already knew for the Hermopolite nome, but **901** uses different names. The smaller measure is called the μέτρον δοχικόν, but the larger measure, of “pure wheat” (πυρὸς καθαρός, “de poids net,” as the editor correctly says on p. 122), appears here as μέτρον δέξιμον rather than μέτρον Ἀθηναῖον as elsewhere.

Following his explanation on p. 149 the editor translates a siglum in **901** he prints as $\bar{\Delta}$ with a *iota* subscript as “1/48” in the case of katoikic (“private”) land and as “au titre du taux de 5 1/3” in the case of *dioikesis* (“public”) land (ἀν(ὰ) ε γ) is written out in a number of cases). There is also a charge on katoikic (“private”) land for which the editor prints the siglum as ι with Δ on top. He translates this somewhat confusingly as “i(?)d(?)”. It occurs in combination with the ἀριθμητικόν, and they are both charged according to an increasing scale: between such-and-such an amount of land the charges are fixed at so-and-so and so-and-so (see the table on p. 127). These taxes are mostly regressive, because the more land they are charged on, the lower the rate per surface unit is, but the lowest amounts of land (less than 7 *arourai*) are not hit by these taxes. The concurrence of progressive and regressive taxation is familiar from our own society, but not known, as far as I am aware, for any other past society. These two taxes come on top of the ἀρταβεία and add 30-50% to land 7 *arourai* and up; land less than 7 *arourai* does pay the ἀρταβεία. *Dioikesis* (“public”) land is also charged the ἀρταβεία, and there are only a few cases where the tax on *dioikesis* land is higher.

Some Examples of Entries in 901 and 902

A few examples will make the interpretation of **901** and **902** by the editor clearer. In the English translations below I have included steps left out in the Greek. First an entry with a small amount of land (**901**.28.16-18):

// Ἀ[ρ]τεμίδωρος Τοθήους ἐκ το(ῦ)
Πτολ(εμαίου) Ληγαίου κατοικ(ικῆς) α 0), (ἀρτ.) α $\bar{0} \kappa \delta$,
[(ὦν)] με(μέτρηκεν) Πώεως κο(λλήματος) $\bar{\nu}$ γ(ῆς κατοικικῆς) α $\bar{0} \kappa \delta$

“Artemidoros son of Tothes, for 1 2/3 *arourai* of katoikic land from the *kleros* of Ptolemaios son of Lenaïos (= *assiette*), owes <artabieia on 1 2/3 *arourai* = 1 2/3 *artabai* plus 1/48 on 2 *arourai* rounded up = 1/24 *artabe*, makes> 1 2/3 1/24 *artabai* (= *liquidation*), of which he paid <at the granary> of Pois, 1 2/3 1/24 *artabai* for katoikic land, according to page 50 of its register (= *recouvrement*).”

Since the amount of land is below the first threshold of 7 *arourai*, the tax is just the *artabieia* and 1/48 (over a rounded-up figure) or 1.025 *artabai* per *aroura*. It does not include *id()* and *arithmetikon*. An example of an entry that takes us over the threshold of 7 *arourai* is the following (901.30.22-27):

//Ἐπίμαχος κ[α(ι) . . . () Ἀγ[ιπ]άτρο(υ) ἐκ το(ῦ)
 Δ[ά]μωνο(ς) γ(ῆς κατοικικῆς) [ζ L, δι() ς], ιδ() γ L ι' β',
 ἀ[ρι]θ(μητικοῦ) β L ι' β', (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι?) ιγ L γ,
 25 [(ῶν)] με(μετρήκασιν) [Πώ]ξεω(ς) κ[ο(λλήματος)] ιθ . . . [.] . λ()
 γ(ῆς κατοικικῆς) θ' κο(λλήματος) κ
 Ἀπ[ολ() . . .] . () γ(ῆς κατοικικῆς) δ L γ[' η', ιδ() x, ἀριθ(μητικοῦ)
 γ] . . . κο(λλήματος) ργ γ(ῆς κατοικικῆς) β κ' δ',
 ιδ() α [z] η, ἀρ[ι]θ(μητικοῦ) α ς κδ, (γίνονται?) ιγ L [γ]

“Epimachos and N.N. sons of Antipatros, for 7 1/2 *arourai* of katoikic land from the *kleros* of Damon (= *assiette*), <owe *artabieia* on 7 1/2 *arourai* = 7 1/2 *artabai* plus> 1/48 <on 8 *arourai* rounded up => 1/6 *artabe*, *id()* <at the fixed rate of> 3 1/2 1/12 *artabai*, *arithmetikon* <at the fixed rate of> 2 1/2 1/12 *artabai*, makes 13 1/2 1/3 *artabai* (= *liquidation*), of which the following paid <at the granary> of Pois: N.N. son of N.N. for katoikic land 2/3 *artabe*, according to page 19 of its register; Apol() son of N.N. for katoikic land 4 1/2 1/3 [1/8 *artabai*, for *id()* x *artabai*, for *arithmetikon* γ *artabai*, according to page 20 of its register; <Epimachos and N.N.> for katoikic land 2 1/24 *artabai*, for *id()* 1 1/z 1/8 *artabai*, for *arithmetikon* 1 1/6 1/24 *artabai*, according to page 93 of its register; makes 13 1/2 [1/3] *artabai* (= *recouvrement*).”

Because 7 1/2 *arourai* is just over the first threshold of 7 *arourai*, the owner ends up paying almost 1.85 *artabai* per *aroura*, considerably more than in the previous example (1.025 *artabai* per *aroura*). The last example is an entry that takes us over the largest threshold (901.36.7-14):

//Τερεῦς Ἀσπιδᾶ[το]ς [Τετρον]κα(νω)
 ἐκ το(ῦ) Δάμωνο[ς . . . α] L
 κα(ι) ἐκ το(ῦ) Διονυσίου[ς . . .] . ς
 κα(ι) ἐκ το(ῦ) Διοδώρο(υ) το(ῦ) Φα[. . .] β d,
 (γίνονται) γ(ῆς κατοικικῆς) λθ L d, [δι() L γ, (γίνονται) μ L ι' β', ιδ() ς η,
 ἀ[ρι]θ(μητικοῦ) ς γ ιβ, (γίνονται) νγ η],
 (ῶν) με(μέτρηκεν) Πώξεω κο(λλήματος) . . . γ(ῆς κατοικικῆς) μ L ι' β', ιδ() ς
 η], ἀριθ(μητικοῦ)
 ς γ ιβ, (γίνονται) [νγ η]

“Tereus daughter of Aspidas, for land at Tertonkano, for $x1 \frac{1}{2}$ *arourai* from the *kleros* of Damon; and for $y6$ *arourai* from the *kleros* of Dionysios; and for $z2 \frac{1}{4}$ *arourai* from the *kleros* of Diodoros son of Pha[] makes $39 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$ *arourai* of katoikic land (= *assiette*), <owes *artabieia* on $39 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$ *arourai* = $39 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$ *artabai*> plus $\frac{1}{48}$ <over 40 *arourai* rounded up => $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3}$ *artabe*, makes $40 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{12}$ *artabai*, *id()* <at the fixed rate of> $6 \frac{1}{8}$ *artabai*, *arithmetikou* <at the fixed rate of> $6 \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12}$ *artabai*, makes $53 \frac{1}{8}$ *artabai* (= *liquidation*), of which she paid <at the granary> of Pois, for katoikic land, $40 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{12}$ *artabai*, *id()* $6 \frac{1}{8}$ *artabai*, *arithmetikou* $6 \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12}$ *artabai*, makes $53 \frac{1}{8}$ *artabai* (= *recouvrement*).”

The rate per *aroura* now drops back from 1.85 *artabai* to 1.3365 *artabai*, but still more than in the first example (1.025 *artabai* per *aroura*).

Onomastic Data in the Texts

The editor refrains from commenting at length on the onomastic data, and in view of the recent increase of onomastic data for the Hermopolite nome in the later Roman period (texts from Bawit, *BGU* 17 and 19, and especially *P.Lond.Herm.*), and the expected increase of onomastic data for the Hermopolite nome in the earlier Roman period (the Viennese text to be published in *CPR* 11, listing tax payments in money not on land), this would seem reasonable. *P.Stras.* 10 records about 500 named individuals with 140 discrete names (plus about 100 individuals with unread names). This is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the earlier Roman period. For the discussion of Hermopolite onomastics in my 1997 dissertation,² I drew on a makeshift prosopography for the Hermopolite nome that was well-nigh exhaustive for the Greco-Roman period until the end of the fourth century and, thanks to the generosity of Jaakko Frösén, already included the Viennese text. I counted names as well as individuals, but for the period after AD 400 I counted only names. Before *trismegistos.org* makes all such manually compiled statistics obsolete, I would like to offer some comments on the names used in the Hermopolite nome between Alexander and Mohammed. First come the comprehensive data on names in the Hermopolite nome, from textual sources (papyri and inscriptions) in any language (Greek and Demotic):

² P. van Minnen, *Roman Hermopolis* (Leuven 1997) 1.205-210.

	III-I BC	I-III AD	IV-VII AD
names unique to one period	175	900	950
names shared with the following period	50 ↔	50/425 ↔	425
names shared with the two other periods	40	40	40
names shared with the last/first period	10		10
total names	275	1,415	1,425
individuals ³	500	5,700	

Of the 2,550 names attested in the Hermopolite nome from Alexander to Mohammed, only 40 are attested throughout the millennium and 10 more survived for a millennium, adding up to less than 2% continuity for the entire period. Each subperiod has about the same ratio between unique names and names shared with the next subperiod. In the three subperiods, the unique names account for 63.6%, 63.6%, and 66.7% of all names respectively. The turnover was really substantial and consistent throughout the millennium from Alexander to Mohammed. The high number of unique names has to do with the tendency to use a large number of names only once in a given population. “Common” names are rather rare in Greco-Roman Egypt. For the later Roman period Giovanni Ruffini has collected data from seven data sets (three from the Hermopolite nome), in which on average 65.3% names are used for only one individual.⁴ Egyptians were constantly coining new names, and this resulted in the high turnover we find in names from one subperiod to another.

I also collected statistics on “common” names in the Hermopolite nome (I-III AD), more specifically the “top 25” names by number of individuals:

	total	individuals		
			Apollonios	92
Hermaios	165		Ammonios ⁵	91
Dioskoros	112		Achilleus	82
Sarapion	102		Kastor	76
Herminos	98		Tereus	71
Eudaimon	98		Hermias	70
Orion ⁶	93		Cornelius	65

³ I did not count individuals after the fourth century. For the fourth century alone I counted 4,250 individuals.

⁴ G. Ruffini, “The Commonality of Rare Names in Byzantine Egypt,” *ZPE* 158 (2006) 219, table 2a.

⁵ The high ranking of both Apollonios and Ammonios in the “top 25” makes the identification of Apollonios son of Ammonios in *P.Amh.* 2.85 (AD 78) and **902.12.2** proposed by the editor in the note somewhat problematic.

⁶ Often rendered Horion.

Phibis	58	Didymos	48
Demetrios	55	Kollouthos	47
Isidoros	54	Inarooos	46
Dionysios	51	Tothes	44
Helene	51	Anoubion	41
Silvanus	49	Chairemon	39

Of these, Kastor, Tereus, Cornelius, and Phibis owe their high ranking to a large extent to *CPR* 11, and it is remarkable that they do not play a significant role in *P.Stras.* 10. On the other hand, Tothes, Kollouthos, and especially Inarooos also owe their high ranking to a large extent to *CPR* 11, and they play a significant role also in *P.Stras.* 10. Conversely, two other names that are prominent in *P.Stras.* 10, Apollonios and Achilleus, do not play a significant role in *CPR* 11. The most frequently used name in *P.Stras.*, Papontos, is not in the “top 25” at all, while the runners-up include the already mentioned Apollonios, Kollouthos, Tothes, Inarooos, and Achilleus (*ex aequo* with Inarooos) and Panechotes (not in the “top 25”). In *CPR* 11 the most frequently used name is the already mentioned Tereus, with the already mentioned Cornelius, Inarooos, Phibis, Kastor, and Kollouthos and Petbes (*ex aequo* with Kollouthos, but not in the “top 25”) as runners-up.

It is a safe bet that adding the data from *P.Stras.* 10 and texts published since the mid-1990s would not significantly alter these statistics, but it is equally safe to predict that eventually many more publications such as *P.Stras.* 10 will change the statistics. With the growing number of publications of especially Coptic and Arabic papyri from after the seventh century it will soon be possible to extend the statistics for another three centuries (VII-X AD).

Miscellaneous Comments

I have not checked the readings systematically, but spot checking revealed no obvious errors or rather, it showed that the editor reads less or dots more than I would be inclined to read or dot, so the edition appears reliable. The CD accompanying the volume is not that easy to use, as the images are given as one large pdf file of 69 pages, but the quality is quite high. The images of **901** are excellent and allow significant magnification, which is sometimes needed for the more faded portions of the text (e.g., **901.8**, lower four lines), which easily escape detection without magnification. The images of **902** are somewhat less satisfactory, as the fragments are shown with their paper backing. There are numerous details included in the text itself (e.g., **901.10.12** after straightening some fibres, a particularly revealing case), and the fact that these are not always

as helpful shows that printing all of the images, while more convenient for the reader, would not have been as useful. The technical choices made by the editor, while not entirely satisfying our craving for the impossible (texts side by side with enhanced images side-by-side with translations side-by-side with line notes), could hardly have been improved upon under the circumstances.

In the transliteration, the editor uses italic font for interlinear additions, which indeed look a bit more “cursive” than the main text. But he also uses italic font in the lacuna, when he cannot fill in the lacuna but knows what kind of information would have been there (e.g., “κλήρου τινός,” “σου”). I think that in such cases it is better to avoid Greek altogether and use French instead.

In 901.11.13 ἐπὶ δε(καετῇ scil. χρόνον) is not convincing. Perhaps ἐπὶ (τετραετῇ scil. χρόνον) should be preferred.

Note the unusual verb πεπασμέ(ν) in 901.38.17. The editor translates this as “parsemé (de blé?),” and this would seem compatible with the use of ἐσπαρμέ(νου) elsewhere, but in that case one expects a designation of a type of land (e.g. παραδείσος) to precede, not χόρτος, here largely restored by the editor.

Among the new *kleros* names we find Κοστόκου, a Thracian name (see 901.39.9 n.). There are also a couple of what seem to be double *kleros* names, including Πτολεμαίου Ληναίου on the territory of the village of Tertonkano. The ed. translates this as “Ptolemaios fils de Lénaios,” but it would be odd if the patronymic here gave rise to the name of the village of Ληναίου in the Hermopolite nome (p. 66, n. 156). Behind the village of Ληναίου there may have been a *kleros* Ληναίου, as yet unattested. There is also a village of Ληναίου in the Antinoite nome.⁷ The same regionally important but otherwise unknown Lénaios may be behind all of these.

I wonder whether πηχ(ισμοῦ) περισ(τερεώνων) should not be πηχ(ισμοῦ) περισ(τερεῶνος) when it is followed by α: “for the *pechismos* of 1 dovecot, measuring x *pecheis*.” In 902.18.20 this is followed by ἄλ(λοι) (“other *pecheis*”), perhaps rather ἄλ(λου), “for another dovecot measuring y *pecheis*.” In that case πηχ(εις) should be πήχ(εων).

The appendix to the volume (following the indices) publishes some of the early twentieth-century records about acquisitions of papyri for Strasbourg through the famous *Kartell*. The result is negative in the sense that 901-903 were *not* acquired through the *Papyruskartell*, which is useful to know: possibly related acquisitions by other institutions were not made through the *Kartell* either. The Strasbourg acquisitions are “une affaire confuse.”

⁷ To the editor’s references for the Antinoite village of Ληναίου add the Coptic text published in P. van Minnen, “The Earliest Account of a Martyrdom in Coptic,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 113 (1995) 13-38.

The editor is to be congratulated with mastering the extremely difficult material included in this volume, both from an editorial/interpretive and from a technical/representational perspective.

Reviews

Sofia Torallas Tovar and Klaas A. Worp, with the collaboration of Alberto Nodar and María Victoria Spottorno, *Greek Papyri from Montserrat (P.Monts.Roca IV)*. Scripta Orientalia 1. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2014. ISBN 978-84-9883-700-1.

This volume continues the serial publication of the Montserrat papyri. The 64 texts in this volume are numbered from **33** to **96**. *P.Monts.Roca* 1, the edition of the tachygraphic word list which came out in 2006, contains no. **1** (not referred to as such in that volume).¹ *P.Monts.Roca* 2, the edition of the Coptic Biblical texts which came out in 2007, contains nos. **2-31**. *P.Monts.Roca* 3, the edition of the Latin text about Hadrian which came out in 2010, contains no. **32** (not referred to as such in that volume). *P.Monts.Roca* 5 (*Textes coptes de Montserrat*, ed. M.J. Albarrán, A. Boud'hors, A. Delattre, and S. Torallas) is already announced on the back flap of the volume under review.

The first part of *P.Monts.Roca* 4 helpfully re-edits the Greek literary texts which were mostly published by Ramón Roca-Puig in often inaccessible venues. The re-edition of the Homeric papyri is the work of Alberto Nodar, with the exception of no. **36**, which re-edits *P.Poethke* 37. The edition of other classical texts are collaborative efforts (no. **38** re-edits *P.Worp* 2). There are quite a few Biblical texts, which are here re-edited by María Victoria Spottorno. The edition of the fragments of (other) Christian literature is the work of Sofia Torallas Tovar and Klaas A. Worp, mostly re-editions of their own relatively recent editions. They are also responsible for most of the “paraliterary” texts, with the exception of an amulet (no. **61**) re-edited by Raquel Martín Hernández, and for most of the documentary texts (Marina Escolano Poveda edits the Demotic part of no. **79** and Worp re-edits no. **95**, which he published recently).

The edition is very carefully done, as far as I could tell from the pictures. In addition to the mostly reduced color plates at the back of the volume, scans of about half the texts can currently be found at www.dvctvs.upf.edu. The plates are more or less in the order of the texts, but the pictures for no. **70** come at the end, front (part of this also appears enlarged on the front cover) and back, just before the pictures for no. **77**, front and back.

¹ Reviewed by A. Papatomas, *BASP* 44 (2007) 211-217.

For no. 33, a Homeric fragment (*Iliad* 9.696-10.3) from the third century BC, the editor provides a diplomatic and an articulated (“interpretative”) text. No. 34 (*Odyssey* 11.73-78) is also from the third century BC. The other three Homeric texts (nos. 35-37) are from the Roman period and less interesting. It is perhaps somewhat adventurous to assign no. 36 to Theadelphia, even with a question mark, just because the hand is similar to hands in the Heroninus archive. Two of the other classical texts are re-editions (for no. 38, Demosthenes 21.62, see also my remarks in *BASP* 46 [2009] 199-200), but no. 39, a third-century BC fragment of Hellenistic historiography, possibly about Alexander the Great, is new. Sacrifice and votives to a goddess are mentioned. No. 40 is the re-edition of a fourth-century AD fragment of a commentary on Theocritus 1.

Old Testament fragments are re-edited as nos. 41-47. Nos. 41 and 42, both Psalm fragments, are from rolls, not codices. No. 44, a fragment of the Song of Songs, joins *P.Lond.Lit.* 209, whose readings are somewhat unexpectedly included within square brackets in the text. Nos. 46 and 47 are part of the same second/third-century codex, with parts of Daniel 7-8 (no. 46) and 11 (no. 47), where the original page numbers 181-182 are preserved. The New Testament fragments are re-edited as nos. 48-52. No. 48 (parts of Matthew 3 and 5) is p67, which is from the same codex as p64. The re-editor adopts Skeat’s dating to the later second century and leave the issue of whether p4 also belongs to the same codex unresolved. The Coptic of the bilingual no. 49 (parts of Matthew 26) appeared earlier as *P.Monts.Roca.* 2.14. No. 51 (parts of John 3) of the third century includes a *hermeneia* at the bottom of the page. In the lacuna in line 6 on the front the editor reads ἐξ αὐτοῖς for either ἐν αὐτοῖς or ἐξ αὐτῶν (both are possible).

Nos. 53 (the *Comparatio Menandri et Philistionis*) and 54 (in part corresponding to Hippolytus, *De benedictionibus Isaaci et Jacobi*) are on the *recto* and *verso* of the same fifth/sixth-century papyrus. Nos. 55 and 56 are both from John Chrysostom, *De virginitate*, and possibly from the same fifth/sixth-century codex. No. 57 is from Methodius, *Symposium*. The new texts (nos. 58-59) have not been identified. In 59.10-13 (hairside) a new *agraphon* occurs. “Our judge and savior” (Jesus) is quoted there: τὰ γλυκέα φθέγγεσθ(αι) τετήρηται, “It has been retained to pronounce sweet words” or rather “to pronounce the sweet (words) is reserved (for later).”

The “paraliterary” texts include a list of gods (no. 60), a Christian amulet (no. 62), a late-Ptolemaic literary text and a list of ingredients (no. 63 *recto* and *verso* respectively; these texts should have been numbered separately; the illustrations are mislabeled), a horoscope from AD 337 (no. 64, written along the fibres on what is probably the back of no. 89, an order to pay from AD 336/7, written across the fibres), and a name tag (no. 65).

The documents (nos. 66-96) are mostly new. No. 66 is a second-century BC petition from the priests of Tebtynis asking for an εἴλη of μαχαιροφόροι. No. 67 is an application for a loan of seed from the reign of Domitian. No. 68 is a first/second century notification of death. No. 69 is a declaration to the *logistes* of Oxyrhynchus from ca. AD 325. The editors regard no. 70 as part of a *tomos synkollesimos*. I rather think that the first text overlaps the second text a little bit, so that the two texts were written together on one papyrus. The second text is a bilingual Greek-Latin text, a report of proceedings from Alexandria from 378/9 (here a copy or *exemplum*).

No. 71 (AD 141 or 142) is a receipt for 8 drachmas for ἐρμηνεία μέτρον from the village of Boubastos. No. 72 (AD 419) contains two receipts from Oxyrhynchus for σταθμός and ἐσθῆς. No. 73 re-edits *P.Clackson* 50, no. 74 *P.Poethke* 38, and no. 75 *P.Poethke* 39. No. 76 (183/2) is a cession of land from Crocodilopolis. No. 77 (148 BC) is a lease from Hephaestias. The *scriptura interior* and the *scriptura exterior* are combined and printed as one text (the editors mix the faulty δωρεάς with the correct δωρεᾶς). No. 78 (49-54) is a loan from Oxyrhynchus. No. 79 (37-69) is another bilingual text, a Demotic and Greek sale of a house from Soknopaiou Nesos. No. 80 (161-169) is a gift. No. 81 is a third-century AD labor contract, which includes the lease of two “iron” (ἄθᾶνατοι) pigs. The rent consists of pork.

Four texts from Oxyrhynchus come next: a *diaeresis* (no. 82), an apprenticeship contract (no. 83), a loan (no. 84), and an unidentified contract (no. 85). Another, late loan from Heracleopolis follows (no. 86). The third-century BC no. 87 mentions συνθιασῖται. No. 88, an account, is also from the third century BC. No. 90 re-edits *P.Clackson* 49, no. 92 *P.Clackson* 48. No. 91 is an account or memorandum from the seventh/eighth century. The second-century AD no. 93 mentions a πύλη εὐθηνίας (Εὐθηνίας?). The third/fourth-century letter no. 94 mentions ιερόγλυφοι. No. 95 is a fourth/fifth-century letter from Syria, mentioning churches there. No. 96 (VI AD) is another letter, from a *scholastikos* to a *comes domesticorum* called Solon (cf. *CPR* 7.25, also from the sixth century).

The usual indices (including of passages referred to) conclude this welcome volume, which is a bargain at 28 euros.

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Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten, herausgegeben von Andrea Jördens. Achtundzwanzigster Band. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013. iv + 335 pages. ISBN 978344710096.

Unlike other papyrological periodicals such as *Chronique d'Égypte* and *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, *BASP* does not really have a tradition of reviewing new volumes of the *Sammelbuch*.¹ And although Samuel's quip that the only thing papyrologists need to be told about the *Sammelbuch* is that "the latest part has arrived" still stands, *SB* 28 presents a significant change and as such it is worthwhile to also note it in this venue.

The first notable change is that the *Sammelbuch* is back where it began a little over one hundred years ago, in Heidelberg. Although the main reason for this change (the abolishment of legal papyrology in Marburg after the retirement of H.-A. Rupprecht) is sad, the move back to Heidelberg is promising especially for connections with online projects based in, or related to, that institution such as the HGV and the Papyrological Navigator. The move to Heidelberg also includes the introduction of a new editor-in-chief: Andrea Jördens.

A second change is that the *Sammelbuch* no longer appears under the auspices of the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, which has supported the project for about twenty years. Support is now given, apart from the Rupprecht-Karls-University of Heidelberg that provides a home for the project, by the Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Kultur Baden-Württemberg (for five years) and the Emil und Arthur Kießling-Stiftung für Papyrusforschung (for ten years). It is worrisome that such important projects as the *Sammelbuch* and *Berichtigungsliste* can only be funded on a temporary basis.

Apart from the changes, much stays the same. The current volume only contains the mostly Greek texts, with the forthcoming volume 29 to contain all the various indices to this volume. It is hoped that with recent advances in technology, this will not take too much time. The incorporation of the Greek texts in the online DDBDP should also take less time because the texts only need to be coded in XML, although at the time of writing this review (March 2015), this has not yet happened.

What is unclear is what years exactly this volume covers. Apart from some older texts missed in previous installments (for example, the first text included, **16832**, was published in 1963 but not included with the other texts taken up in *SB* 8), the *ZPEs* covered in the volume – always a good indicator for years

¹ *SB* 8.2 was briefly noted by A.E. Samuel in *BASP* 5 (1968) 43-44, and *SB* 10 was reviewed by G.M. Browne in *BASP* 9 (1972) 109-110.

covered – range from 2002 (**17161**) to 2004 (**17270**). This still gives a ten-year lapse between the publication of the text and its incorporation into the *Sammelbuch*, although here too there may be changes coming when texts are entered directly into the DDBDP first and extracted from there for publication in the *Sammelbuch*.

Otherwise, I note that a slight majority of the texts presented in this volume consists of papyri (51%) with the remainder consisting of other writing materials covered by the field of papyrology. Most of these are *ostraka* (24 percent), followed by wooden tablets (9 percent), graffiti (6 percent), stone (5 percent), and a variety of other surfaces with only a handful of texts each. In a way, this broad variety of writing surfaces mirrors the first *Sammelbuch* volume so that in more ways than one we are back at the beginning of the project.

As usual, almost all texts included in the volume are documents, although there is the occasional school text (e.g. **16981**) and a collection of 106 magical gems (all under **16921**). Including several texts under one number is a long-standing *Sammelbuch*-practice, although including 106 items under one number as here is exorbitant. As far as I am aware, the reason why (and when) to include multiple texts under one *Sammelbuch* number is nowhere explicitly stated, although the common denominator is that they are short texts and, in the case of the current volume, largely non-papyrus texts, such as inscriptions. Thus the numbers **17122** to **17132** include a total of 55 inscriptions from Saqqara. The volume also includes three ghost numbers for texts that were published elsewhere: **16888** (= *P.Dryton* 17); **16911** (= *SB* 26.16551); and **16998** (= *P.Berl.Cohen* 7).

The Heidelberg team is to be thanked for taking on the important, but often ungrateful task of compiling the *Sammelbuch*, with advance apologies for not noting its further progress in this periodical. As a final note, I should echo the preface of this volume (p. iv) and acknowledge the tireless efforts of our Marburg colleagues under the leadership of H.-A. Rupprecht to keep the *Sammelbuch* project going in the past decades.

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J.D. Ray, *Demotic Ostraca and Other Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara*. Texts from Excavations 16. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2013. 392 pages + DVD. ISBN: 978-0-85698-217-0.

This edition is divided into four sections, followed by a Concordance and Index. Section one (pp. 11-81) deals with literary texts, scribal exercises, and memoranda; section two (pp. 83-107) with exercises on writing-boards and similar items; section three (pp. 109-345) with Demotic jar-labels, dedications and deliveries to cults, and similar inscriptions, and section four (pp. 347-363) with Demotic inscriptions on objects of limestone or wood. This reviewer regards John Ray as one of the more brilliant minds in Demotic studies, and he is grateful for the publication of the almost 400 Demotic – and some Hieratic – ostraca (DO Saqqara **1-383**) and inscriptions (DI **1-13**) contained in this volume, which unfortunately had been delayed for a number of years.

The texts were all found in the Sacred Animal Necropolis in North Saqqara in the sixties and seventies of the last century. Sections one and two are by far the most interesting, the texts varying from a plea to Isis Mother of the Apis (**1**) or the opening of a Setne story (**3**) to a spell to ward off crocodiles (**5**), allowing the author to display his much-admired mastery of Demotic, although he himself has been the first to point out (on p. 6) that not all reading problems could be solved. Given the difficulty of some of the texts published in this volume, one can only say that it is already surprising how much information Ray has wrenched from this material without going mad. Some texts are so fraught with problems that lesser spirits would most probably have given up. These texts – and especially those from sections one and two – are bound to keep Demotists occupied for many years to come.

Whenever this reviewer thought he could improve on Ray's readings, these were in most cases petty trifles, for instance *hyt.t* instead of *hyt*, and *hry mšc* instead of *hry rmt* in **1.5** and **6** (*hry mšc* was of course considered by Ray, but dismissed). And if the reading *dī=w wt* in **12 A.7** is correct, why not also read it in line 5? Listing corrections such as these would, however, seem rather pedantic, and convey the wrong impression that the author should have taken one more careful look before publishing this material. Still, at times Ray's transliterations are hard to follow, e.g. in **14**, **29**, and **47** (all simply begging for a hieroglyphic transcription), but in cases where Ray seems mistaken, it is generally only possible to replace his readings with proposals that are equally uncertain or far-fetched, so that it seems useless to reproduce them here. This is, one should bear in mind, an *editio princeps*. Right now Demotists can start arguing whether Ray's *mr.w wp-s.t (?)* in **20.1** is perhaps *rmt(.w) wp-s.t* after

all and whether his *P3-di- 'Is.t* in no. 37.3 should actually be read *P3-di- Wsîr* in view of the divine determinative, although in this corpus apparently even *B3st.t* seems to take the divine determinative (195.2).

For those of us who love language in any form, the notes in which Ray explains his findings are mandatory reading, if only for the style employed. At times they are hilarious (e.g. the Notes to the Translation of 13 on p. 67), although they do not always offer the support or the references one is looking for.

There is, however, an issue with the photos on the DVD. These were made in the 1970s, meaning that the quality is no longer what one would expect in a publication of 2013. More than once it is impossible to make out any Demotic traces (e.g. 76 B, 153, 154) or ostraca are turned or shown upside down (e.g. 17, 39, 187, 194), and the computer does not allow the reader to rotate the picture, unless he uses Microsoft Office 2010 *vel sim*. High-resolution colour photos would probably have helped, but the ostraca are no longer accessible, partly also because the storage room where they were kept was robbed, so that it is fortunate that the author has provided facsimiles of nearly all pieces.

This being said, the photographic plates have not been edited with the usual care. For instance, photo 5 A is actually the facsimile of 5 C, 5 B = 5 A, 5 C = 5 B, 5 D = 5 G, 5 E = 5 D, photo 5 F matches none of the facsimiles given, 5 G = 5 K, 5 H = 5 J, 5 I = 5 L, 5 J = 5 F, and 5 K = 5 H. The shortcomings of the photographic plates are – one hesitates to say – manifold. To start with, they should all have been accompanied by their publication numbers on the plates themselves, allowing the reader to check the facsimiles rather than – in some cases – having to look first which of several fragments belongs to a specific facsimile. The photos regularly show a number of ostraca without any reference to identify which is which (e.g. 95, 96, 147) or do not match the facsimiles given (e.g. 24, 57, 82, 128). The facsimiles are at times rather blurry (e.g. 61 on p. 140, 77 on p. 153, 94 on p. 167), and in some cases they look more like quick sketches made in the field than accurate handcopies (e.g. 97 on p. 170, 248 on p. 264, and 317 on p. 306). The photo of 199 actually shows much more than the facsimile on p. 238. The facsimile said to be 57 (the photo matches the transliteration, but the facsimile does not) was also used with 58 (where the photo does not match the transliteration nor the facsimile). The photo matching facsimile 58 is actually the photo listed as belonging to 229, which, to judge from the facsimile, is an entirely different text. The facsimile presented as 222 on p. 251 (no photo) shows two lines of text, even if the transliteration has one line, clearly belonging to another facsimile. Since the same facsimile is used on the next page for 221 as well (with the correct transliteration), it seems the original facsimile of 222 has gone missing. In general, however, the facsimiles are very clear, allowing the reader to check Ray's transliterations with ease. It

would therefore not be fair to diminish the value of this book on account of the hickups with the plates.

The EES excavations at Saqqara have yielded an enormous amount of Demotic texts, allowing us to paint a picture of this site. It seems as if we are only at the beginning of understanding what went on there in antiquity, and if we ever do, it is certainly also due to this Sixteenth Memoir of the Texts from Excavations by John Ray, another piece of the puzzle. And yes, I still think he is brilliant.

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Brian P. Muhs, *Receipts, Scribes, and Collectors in early Ptolemaic Thebes* (O. Taxes 2). *Studia Demotica* 8. Leuven: Peeters, 2011. xvii + 329 pages. 56 plates. ISBN 978-90-429-2431-4.

This volume publishes 157 tax receipts and other small texts written on *ostraka* from Thebes dating to the third century BC. Of these, 102 are written in Demotic Egyptian, and there are 1 Greek and 54 bilingual texts; 113 are published here for the first time. Each text comes with a meticulous handcopy, and most of the texts also have photographs.

Muhs divides his book basically into two sections: the publication of the texts by tax type and date occupies the first section (about two thirds of the book); discussions about the nature of the taxes treated, the scribes and their functions, and the history of the collections whence these texts derive occupy the second section. The Greek texts of the bilingual *ostraka* were for the most part published long ago in *O. Wilck.* (1899) or *O. Bodl.* 1 (1930). Muhs republishes these here with the addition of the demotic signatures.

Chapter 1 ("Capitation Taxes before Year 22 of Ptolemy II") publishes texts dealing with capitation taxes before the tax reforms in year 22 of Ptolemy II, namely the yoke tax and the salt tax from year 2 on. A variation on these are two receipts for the monthly installment of the head tax, published as texts 8-9. Chapter 2 ("Capitation Taxes after Year 22 of Ptolemy II") continues with monthly taxes after year 22 of Ptolemy II, when the salt tax replaced the yoke tax as the principal annual tax on persons. Less well known is the wool tax first attested in 254 BC, which is confirmed to be the equivalent of ἐπεά in Greek, a head tax on women. Two lesser taxes are also discussed briefly, the server tax (on temple staff) and the income-of-a-guard tax.

Chapter 3 ("Commodity Monopolies") publishes receipts related to two of the so-called Ptolemaic monopoly industries, principally here castor oil and natron. Chapter 4 discusses "Labor and Harvest Taxes." The two chapters together serve as a contrast in the Ptolemaic economy between the new fiscal system introduced by the early Ptolemies and the ancient system of labor and grain production taxation continued from pharaonic times.

The next two chapters discuss more specialized types of taxes. Chapter 5 ("Funerary Taxes") is devoted to taxes collected by local temples. The burial plot receipts are fees related to the use of necropoleis owned by temples. The "money of document" receipts are a little more mysterious. The term *ḥd b3k* used to be translated as "servant/slave tax" but the Demotic determinative of *b3k* suggests, rather, that the word means "document." The tax is perhaps related to choachyte-priest activity, or at least in some way connected to the

use of burial plots. Muhs collects the known texts that document this tax, 14 in all, and presents them on pp. 183-193.

Chapter 6 ("Other Texts") briefly collects unspecified receipts including early Ptolemaic name lists of mortuary priests. In one case, perhaps, text 157, a wooden tablet, the listed persons purchase wine. Muhs suggests tentatively that it may be early evidence of a priestly association in early Ptolemaic Thebes.

Chapter 7 ("Theban Tax Scribes and Officials") is an essay on the scribes and officials mentioned in the texts. The "career patterns" of certain scribes can be extracted if multiple receipts are connected to the same man. Patient collection of the material can at times be a gold mine to the careful reader of onomastics, titles, and toponyms. For example, close ties between tax scribes, tax farmers, witnesses to private contracts, and the royal bank can occasionally emerge from the mists as the result of Muhs' work. Occasionally rare titles or toponyms appear, as in "shepherdess" (text 119) and "the island of the Assyrians" (e.g., texts 122 and 132). It is noteworthy that a relatively small group of scribes were apparently responsible for recording receipts at Thebes. Muhs speculates (p. 214) that yoke tax scribes were also agents of the royal scribe, before tax farmers took over the function of tax collections guarantee after year 22 of Ptolemy II. It is clear that *ostraka* are important for beginning to understand the social networks of scribes, tax farmers, contract witnesses, and temple personnel at Thebes. The tight social networks suggested by Muhs' work, it seems to me, are more reason to suspect collusion between tax farmers and tax collectors, which must be a part of any assessment of the structure and performance of the Ptolemaic fiscal system.

Finally, in Chapter 8 ("Taxpayers and Collectors") Muhs attempts to understand the provenance of the texts. Some of the texts derive from excavations, many others were purchased from dealers more than a century ago. In some cases the texts must come from an ancient archive, but this is certainly not always the case. Muhs also gives us in passing information about the people who purchased and subsequently donated the texts to the museums.

A concordance, indices, and photographs of most of the texts conclude this most useful volume. The texts are very well edited, and the book is well produced. Muhs collates new texts here with his earlier study, which published 396 texts (*O. Taxes 1*). *Ostraka* as individual texts would hardly seem to repay the effort of reading and publishing. But bundled together in larger studies as here, with careful editing and attention to prosopography, they can yield important information about the operations of tax collection and the social networks that made the Ptolemaic system work (or not). Muhs has become the master of the discipline, and Demotists, papyrologists, and historians are all in his debt. There are many more texts begging for attention.

Suzana Hodak, Tonio Sebastian Richter, and Frank Steinmann (eds.), *Coptica. Koptische Ostraka und Papyri, koptische und griechische Grabstelen aus Ägypten und Nubien, spätantike Bauplastik, Textilien und Keramik*. Katalog Ägyptischer Sammlungen in Leipzig 3. Berlin: Manetho Verlag, 2013. 236 pages + 53 plates. ISBN 978-3-447-06790-4.

Coptica brings together the Coptic items in the Ägyptologisches Institut/Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff of Leipzig University, as the third catalogue of the museum's collection.¹ This catalogue comprises five object categories: ostraca and papyri (ed. Richter), stelae (ed. Richter), architectural elements (ed. Hodak and Richter), textiles (ed. Hodak), and ceramics (ed. Steinmann). Bringing together these different objects from Christian Egypt and Nubia in a single volume, rather than compartmentalizing them into discrete units intended for specialists in one group only, reminds us that they all contribute to our understanding of daily life during these centuries. All items, regardless of type, are presented in the same format, beginning with a table providing the principal archival information (description, provenance, date, publication history, etc.). This is much more than a catalogue, though. Every item receives a detailed analysis and the textual material is edited in full.

I will discuss the non-textual items only briefly here, before moving on to the texts. The architectural frieze (73), reportedly bought from a dealer at Bawit, has been discussed in print several times since its first publication in 1987. The textiles (74-91) include fragments of a tunic with purple bands (74-75), of a tunic with polychrome, vegetable ornamental decoration (76-79), and other fragments of ornamental panels and motifs, showing flower buds, floral motifs, fruit baskets, and leaf motifs (80-89). The textile section begins with a general introduction on the field and the state-of-scholarship of Coptic textiles and a history of Leipzig's textile collection. The textiles are the only object type to benefit from full-color plates.² Items 90-91 were lost in World War II. The ceramic material comprises decorated bowl fragments (92-93) and flasks of St. Menas (94-98), which are of standard forms and are well-preserved, with the exception of 96 and 97, whose handles are lost.

¹ This third volume comes 15 years after the previous volumes, published in 1997 and 1998 and edited by Renate Krauspe, which focused on the museum's statues and statuettes (vol. 1), and ceramic material of the pre-dynastic period to the end of the Middle Kingdom (vol. 2).

² Commenting on the lack of color plates for all objects would be an unfair criticism, as many items are now lost and can only be studied on the basis of old B/W photographs.

I will first discuss the inscriptions, before moving on to the papyrological texts. Only four of the stelae in the collection are from Egypt (55-57 and 71); the rest comes from various Nubian sites.³ Where the provenance can be determined, they derive from Qasr Ibrim (58-65), Faras (66), and Aniba (67). Rather than be divided by provenance, the stelae are grouped according to formulae (which typically corresponds with their location): (1) εἰς θεός (εἰς Θεός), “There is one God,” which derive from Middle and Upper Egypt (55-57); (2) ἐνθα κατάκειται (ἐνθα κατάκειται), “Here lies ...,” from Qasr Ibrim (58); (3) (2Δ) πρηνέεγγε, “(In) the memory,” from Qasr Ibrim (59-63); and (4) ζῆτη τειρονομία μνηοῦτε, “By the providence of God,” from Qasr Ibrim (64-65), Faras (66), Aniba (67), and unprovenanced sites (68-70). It should be noted that the Aniba stela, previously published and known by the siglum *SB* 3.7109, is Greek, but transcribed in the edition as Coptic, with an articulated Greek transcription following the commentary. While the Egyptian stelae date approximately to the sixth to eighth centuries, the Nubian stelae are much later and several include absolute dates to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Most of the stelae are simple inscriptions, sometimes delineated within a border or sunken area, but others have more substantial decoration, in particular 56-58, which have only short texts.

The 54 papyrological texts that now have the siglum *O.Lips.Copt.* are mainly written on ostraca (only 48-53 are on papyrus, and 54 is a wooden board) and non-literary (only 1-2 are literary). Where their provenance can be determined, most come from the Theban region, although others are from Ashmunein (48) and Elephantine (7). Eighteen of the ostraca were published originally in 1902 in *O.Crum* (see the concordance on p. 220), and 27, which is not included in the concordance, was also previously published (*SB Kopt.* 3.898). I will return to the *O.Crum* re-editions in the appendix below, as the volume raises some issues for the other ostraca published in 1902.

Letters constitute the predominant text-type. 8-15 are either to or from Apa Abraham, the late sixth/early seventh century bishop of Hermonthis (Armant) and founder of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahari. Of these, only 9, a short letter concerning bread, is previously unpublished. Four letters from the correspondence of one Apa Aron (16-19) add to the existing dossier concerning this monk (which Richter discusses on pp. 18-19), to which 20-23 may also be connected. The *topos* of St. Mark is represented by 24 and 25. Neither of these adds something new to our knowledge of the *topos*, as both

³ On these texts, see also the remarks of A. Delattre, J. Dijkstra, and J. van der Vliet, “Christian Inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia 1 (2013),” *BASP* 51 (2014) 199-215 at 202-203 (nos. 3-6) and 211-214 (nos. 34-46).

are new editions of *O.Crum* texts.⁴ The remaining letters (26-35) are a mixed bag, containing a range of requests for goods, for visits, of prayers, and so on.

Several other text-types are represented. Of the lists and invoices (3-7), text 4 is the most interesting, preserving a list of the deceased recipients of offerings (προσφορά). All the recipients are men, but no information is provided about what the offerings comprise or when they are to be offered. Assorted receipts, primarily for tax payments, are collected as 36-39. The only unpublished receipt is 38, which is a standard receipt for poll tax written by the well-known scribe Johannes son of Lazarus and falls within the peak time of his receipt-writing activity, that is March-August 726.⁵ The five loan agreements (40-44) are from Djeme, except possibly for 42, in which neither party state their location. The previously unpublished 43 provides further evidence for “the scribe of Djeme” Athanasius, who uses the title γραμματεὺς, which is rare in Coptic documents from Thebes (the only other uses are by Damianos in *P.KRU* 105 and Theodoros in *P.KRU* 65⁶). The final three ostraca, 45-47 are miscellaneous legal documents and what are probably the remains of a letter.

The papyri (48-53) and wooden board (54) are published here for the first time. The first papyrus, 48, is from the Hermopolite nome and is a business letter or memorandum concerning a lease. The other papyri are fragmentary; 49 (an agreement) preserves the most text, but little survives of the other four. They are tentatively attributed to Thebes and given either a seventh/eighth or eighth century date. There is almost nothing in these texts with which to suggest anything more definitive. The wooden board was used to write the alphabet. The 24 letters of the Greek alphabet are written in vertical columns, with four letters per column. The five Coptic letters (excluding ⲧ, which is typically not included in Coptic alphabets) are written in a seventh column. Richter suggests that a second hand wrote the Coptic letters, because they are less skillfully produced and written with a different pen. I do not believe this is necessarily the case: they could be a later, and perhaps more hastily written,

⁴ Our knowledge of the *topos* will soon increase significantly, with the publication of ostraca from the *topos* in the collection of the Ifao by A. Boud’hors and C. Heurtel, *Ostraca et papyrus coptes du topos de Saint-Marc à Thèbes* (Le Caire, forthcoming).

⁵ For Johannes, see now A. Delattre and J.-L. Fournet, “IV.C. Ostraca. Introduction,” in A. Boud’hors, A. Delattre, C. Louis, and T.S. Richter (eds.), *Coptica Argentoratensia. Textes et documents de la troisième université d’été de papyrologie copte* (Strasbourg, 18-25 juillet 2010) (Paris 2014) 234.

⁶ Neither of these attestations of γραμματεὺς are included in H. Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* (Berlin 2004) 154 (with the exception of Athanasius, almost all the examples cited therein are from the Hermopolite nome and Saqqara).

addition to the alphabet by the same person. The insertion of a line of text between the third and fourth rows is evidence of later use of the board and, again, I am not convinced that this is the product of yet another individual – the letters are in the same style as those in the alphabet, albeit of a smaller size to fit between the lines. It is possible that this represents, instead, a board used for multiple purposes (different writing exercises) by a single individual.

There are a couple of small points to note about the editions. The transcriptions are excellent, but there are a small number of errors, omissions, and old-fashioned practices. It should be stressed that these are minor points. Without undertaking a complete check of the indices (it should be noted that there is no combined index at the end of the volume, rather indices for the ostraca and papyri and for the stelae occur after the respective sections), I did notice the omission of ΚΕΡΑΤΙΟΝ (κεράτιον) in 7.3 and 4, where it occurs in its abbreviated form, κ. As this is the only text in which this accounting unit occurs, its absence in the index of Greek words is unfortunate.

As the images are at the end of the volume, it is not easy to check the transcription against the originals.⁷ One error that I found, because it struck me as an unusual abbreviated writing, occurs in 50a.2: ΕΡΑ' should be ΕΡΑ^ς (ἐγράφη); this error is replicated in the index. Note that ΕΡΑ' here is not for ΕΡΑ\Δ/, as Richter generally does not use this convention but writes superscript letters in the transcription, such as in ΚΑΤΑΒΟ^ς (ΚΑΤΑΒΟΛΗ) in 37.6.⁸

Concerning old-fashioned practices, two points are of note. Abbreviated Greek loanwords are not expanded (neither in the text nor commentary), but are written, in Greek, in the translation. However, not all Greek words are treated this way; the Greek is not provided for common titles ("Presbyter/Priester" [i.e. πρεσβύτερος]) and coins (Holok(ottinos), K(eratien), No(misma), for example). One old-fashioned editorial imposition is employed: the use of *sic* (sometimes in italics, sometimes not) after non-standard orthographies. The standard writings are sometimes noted in the commentary, but not always. For example, in 12.7, ΕΝΙΤΟΛΗ^{sic} is not commented upon, but the correct Greek form is included in the translation "Gebote (ἐντολή)," whereas in 12.20, CΤΧΕ^{sic}

⁷ The placement of plates is a more general issue in papyrological editions. The ability to consult the originals easily and compare them to the transcription (and, more generally, the description of the item) is of the greatest benefit to papyrologists. Recent volumes, such as *P.Bagnall* and *P.Louvre Bawit*, place the images as close to the transcription as possible, often on the same page, while others, such as *P.Kellis* 5-7, include a CD of images, in addition to plates at the back of the volume. While this is often a technical issue for the publisher, in the 21st century, surely a set-up with the greatest possible utility for scholars is attainable.

⁸ There are exceptions, note 12.6: Μ'ΜΟΙ' not Μ^{ΜΟΙ}.

is noted as for $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon$ in the commentary. If an apparatus had been included after the transcriptions, standardized writings could have been included here, rather than in an *ad hoc* fashion in other elements of the edition. Dialectical variants are not marked in this way; hence “*sic*” does not accompany $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ for $\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon$ (12.6) and $\epsilon\chi\chi\eta$ - for $\lambda\chi\chi\eta$ - (12.19), although the latter does receive a comment, on the Theban use of this writing.

These points do not, however, detract from the quality of this volume. The text editions are of the highest order and a great improvement of the originals (where relevant). By being part of the Museum’s catalogue series, the editors are able to include different object types in a single publication. However, it is easy to forget that *Coptica* is a catalogue, as the ostraca, papyri, and stelae are published in full, with complete indices. As such, this volume will probably be of greatest value for the textual material, especially given the fragmentary nature of the textiles and ceramics.

Appendix: Revisiting O.Crum

The re-edition of the 18 *O.Crum* texts that are now in the Ägyptisches Museum raises several important points concerning the original volume. One of the immediate problems with Crum’s volume is its lack of utility for scholars, both those with experience in working with Coptic non-literary texts and those unfamiliar with them. The transcriptions are provided in numerical order in the second half of the volume, while their translations (or, often, descriptions with partial translation) are presented in the first half of the volume according to text-type, which bears no relationship to their number. The lack of full translations and commentary makes them inaccessible to many people. The same point can be made of other early volumes, notably *O.Crum ST* (for which there are no accompanying translations) and *O.Crum VC* (although this volume, published 37 years after *O.Crum*, does include full translations of the texts).

While Crum’s editions are often of high quality, they are not error free and a number of improvements – no matter how small – have significant impact on our understanding of not only the content and context of documents but of their grammar and dialectical variations as well. It is not necessary here to discuss the number of corrections that Richter has made, but a couple of examples serve to highlight the impact that seemingly small changes have.

In 41 (originally *O.Crum* Ad. 41), lines 3-4 mention the *illustris* Theodoros. The original edition follows his name with $\pi\epsilon\eta\lambda\omicron\sigma\epsilon\backslash\tau/\ \eta\lambda\iota$, which Crum suggested should be understood as the “most esteemed $\delta\iota\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ” on the grounds that the alternative reading $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma/\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\eta$ is impossible with the preceding epithet. This results in an otherwise unattested abbreviation for

this title.⁹ However, Richter corrects this to ⲛⲁⲓ, the plural demonstrative pronoun, which refers to the two members of the first party. While the provided image (Pl. 19) is dark and difficult to read, the diaeresis above *iota* is clear and confirms this reading. The unparalleled abbreviation of ⲁⲓ(ⲟⲓⲕⲏⲧⲏⲥ) should therefore be expunged from the record and no longer be included in discussions of village officials in Late Antique and early Islamic Egypt. Richter in his edition also clarifies the reading of the date in line 14, the traces of which Crum was unable to read.

On prosopographic grounds, Richter corrects the reading of “Jeremias son of Pelo” (46, originally *O.Crum* Ad. 14) to “Jeremias the most humble” ([ⲛ]ⲓ[ⲉ]ⲗⲁⲭ, for ⲙⲛⲉⲗⲟ). As this was the only known occurrence of a Jeremias son of Pelo (or, indeed Pelo[...]), this individual needs to be removed from prosopographic accounts of ancient Thebes.¹⁰ It is therefore necessary to re-examine many of the original texts to provide sound data for analysis.

This, however, requires knowledge of the current location of the texts. At the time of their publication, at the very beginning of the twentieth century, much of the material was in private collections, as is the case with the ostraca collected in the current volume, which were mostly owned by Steindorff, or have since been transferred to other institutions.¹¹ The two principal collections named in *O.Crum* are Cairo and the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF, now Society). It is unclear if all the Cairo ostraca are now in the Coptic Museum or if some remain in the Egyptian Museum. All of the relevant EEF ostraca were transferred to the British Museum in 1900.¹² Table 2, below, is a concordance of these ostraca, including their old EEF and current inventory numbers.

Of the public collections, the Brussels texts are in the Musées Royaux, the Cambridge ostrakon is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Florence texts are in the Museo archeologico,¹³ and the items listed as “Strassburg” are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg. The current inventory numbers for these items are recorded in both the Banque de données

⁹ See Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 201.

¹⁰ The entry in W.C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden aus Theben* (Wien 1962) 105, can be ignored.

¹¹ This is also the case with a large number of ostraca originally published in *O.Crum* ST that were in the collection of “Crum-Wessely” (i.e. Walter Crum and Carl Wessely), which were later given to the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and republished in *O.Vind.Copt.*

¹² It should be stressed that this is not the only year in which the EEF gave Coptic ostraca to the British Museum. The relevant information of EEF donations to the Museum is listed in the relevant entries in the Museum’s online catalogue.

¹³ These four ostraca are now *SB Kopt.* 3.1361-1363 and 1656.

des textes coptes documentaires (<http://dev.ulb.ac.be/philo/bad/copte/base.php?page=accueil.php>) and Trismegistos (<http://www.trismegistos.org/>). The ostraca listed as Denderah (Petrie) and Petrie are, for the most part, in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology in London. I have published elsewhere a concordance of the Coptic ostraca in this collection.¹⁴

Only 35 ostraca were in other, private collections. The current location of those owned by Drewitt, Hilton Price, Longmore, and Pollard is unknown. It may be possible to trace the three ostraca once in Lord Amherst's collection (*O.Crum* 103, 394, 395). In 1913, the Pierpont Morgan Library acquired his papyri and the rest of his antiquities were sold at Sotheby's in 1921. A search of Sotheby's records may prove successful. The largest private collection was that of Archibald Henry Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at the University of Oxford (1891-1919). A couple of these ended up in scattered collections (*O.Crum* Ad. 59 is **10**; *O.Crum* 19 is Petrie Museum UC 62840), but the majority were given to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in 1914 and later, following his death, in 1933. In 1966, the Bodleian ostraca were deposited in the Ashmolean Museum, together with the ostraca already in this collection (and recorded as such in *O.Crum*); the transfer was made permanent in 2006. This earlier group was donated by Greville John Chester in 1888, 1889, and, after his death, in 1892.

Table 1 is a concordance of published *O.Crum* texts now kept in the Ashmolean Museum. Note that, for both this table and Table 2, more recent editions of the texts are not provided. For these, one should consult the Brussels Coptic Database or Trismegistos.

Table 1: *O.Crum texts in the Ashmolean Museum*

Publication	Inventory number	Collection	Year
<i>O.Crum</i> 84	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 92	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> 122	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 1	Chester	1889
<i>O.Crum</i> 135	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 93	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> 153	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 78	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> 165	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 94	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> 169	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 95	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> 208	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 77	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> 253	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 104	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> 267	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 96	Sayce	1914

¹⁴J. Cromwell, "Coptic Writing Exercises in the Petrie Museum with a Concordance of its Published Coptic Texts," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (2015, in press).

Publication	Inventory number	Collection	Year
<i>O.Crum</i> 274	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 2	Chester	1889
<i>O.Crum</i> 338	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 97	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> 385	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 98	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> 393	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 99	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> 419	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 89	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> 429	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 425	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 24	Ashm.C.O. 4 (inv. 1171)	Chester	1892
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 25	Ashm.C.O. 2 (inv. 1168A)	Chester	1892
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 26	Ashm.C.O. 10 (inv. 527)	Chester	1892
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 27	Ashm.C.O. 3 (inv. 1168B)	Chester	1888
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 28	Ashm.C.O. 14 (inv. 574)	Chester	1892
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 29	Ashm.C.O. 8 (inv. 476)	Chester	1892
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 30	Ashm.C.O. 15 (inv. 575)	Chester	1892
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 31	Ashm.inv. 557 ¹⁶	Chester	1892
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 60	Ashm.C.O. 33 (inv. 816)	Sayce	1933
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 61	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 70+71	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 62	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 66	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 63	Ashm.C.O. 32 (inv. 815)	Sayce	1933
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 64	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 84	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 65	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 69	Sayce	1914
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad. 66	Bodl.Copt.Inscr. 88	Sayce	1914

Table 2: *O.Crum texts in the British Museum*

Publication	EEF #	EA #	Publication	EEF #	EA #
<i>O.Crum</i> 1	196	32976	<i>O.Crum</i> 9	8	32788
<i>O.Crum</i> 2	32	32812	<i>O.Crum</i> 10	155	32935
<i>O.Crum</i> 4	19	32799	<i>O.Crum</i> 11	18	32798
<i>O.Crum</i> 5	77	32857	<i>O.Crum</i> 18	66	32846
<i>O.Crum</i> 6	168	32948	<i>O.Crum</i> 20	185	32965
<i>O.Crum</i> 7	270	33050	<i>O.Crum</i> 21	243	33023
<i>O.Crum</i> 8	1	32781	<i>O.Crum</i> 26	171	32951

¹⁵ This ostrakon is not included in the Ashmolean's catalogue of Coptic ostraca. That is not to say that it is not in the museum; it may have been incorrectly registered.

Publication	EEF #	EA #	Publication	EEF #	EA #
<i>O.Crum</i> 29	9	32789	<i>O.Crum</i> 63	159	32939
<i>O.Crum</i> 30	50	32830	<i>O.Crum</i> 64	189	32969
<i>O.Crum</i> 31	23	32803	<i>O.Crum</i> 65	312	33092
<i>O.Crum</i> 32	33	32813	<i>O.Crum</i> 66	324	33104
<i>O.Crum</i> 33	41+209	32821	<i>O.Crum</i> 67	46	32826
<i>O.Crum</i> 34	51	32831	<i>O.Crum</i> 69	125	32905
<i>O.Crum</i> 35	164	32944	<i>O.Crum</i> 70	266	33046
<i>O.Crum</i> 36	39	32819	<i>O.Crum</i> 71	2	32782
<i>O.Crum</i> 37	208	32988	<i>O.Crum</i> 72	106	32886
<i>O.Crum</i> 38	111	32891	<i>O.Crum</i> 73	11	32791
<i>O.Crum</i> 39	118	32898	<i>O.Crum</i> 74	82	32862
<i>O.Crum</i> 40	79	32859	<i>O.Crum</i> 75	35	32815
<i>O.Crum</i> 41	27	32807	<i>O.Crum</i> 76	152	32932
<i>O.Crum</i> 42	323	33103	<i>O.Crum</i> 77	183	32963
<i>O.Crum</i> 43	316	33096	<i>O.Crum</i> 79	195	32975
<i>O.Crum</i> 45	326	33106	<i>O.Crum</i> 80	139	32919
<i>O.Crum</i> 46	163	32943	<i>O.Crum</i> 81	40	32820
<i>O.Crum</i> 47	322	33102	<i>O.Crum</i> 82	109	32889
<i>O.Crum</i> 48	20	32800	<i>O.Crum</i> 85	54	32834
<i>O.Crum</i> 49	4	32784	<i>O.Crum</i> 86	218	32998
<i>O.Crum</i> 50	154	32934	<i>O.Crum</i> 87	277	33057
<i>O.Crum</i> 51	119	32899	<i>O.Crum</i> 88	311	33091
<i>O.Crum</i> 52	220	33000	<i>O.Crum</i> 89	317	33097
<i>O.Crum</i> 53	110	32890	<i>O.Crum</i> 90	21	32801
<i>O.Crum</i> 54	30	32810	<i>O.Crum</i> 91	276	33056
<i>O.Crum</i> 55	129	32909	<i>O.Crum</i> 92	47	32827
<i>O.Crum</i> 56	293	33073	<i>O.Crum</i> 93	53	32833
<i>O.Crum</i> 57	172	32952	<i>O.Crum</i> 94	63	32843
<i>O.Crum</i> 58	180	32960	<i>O.Crum</i> 95	93	32873
<i>O.Crum</i> 59	113	32893	<i>O.Crum</i> 96	130	32910
<i>O.Crum</i> 60	88	32868	<i>O.Crum</i> 97	226	33006
<i>O.Crum</i> 61	15	32795	<i>O.Crum</i> 99	328	33108
<i>O.Crum</i> 62	128	32908	<i>O.Crum</i> 105	85	32865

Publication	EEF #	EA #	Publication	EEF #	EA #
<i>O.Crum</i> 106	86	32866	<i>O.Crum</i> 170	197	32977
<i>O.Crum</i> 107	215	32995	<i>O.Crum</i> 171	236	33016
<i>O.Crum</i> 108	222	33002	<i>O.Crum</i> 173	81	32861
<i>O.Crum</i> 109	296	33076	<i>O.Crum</i> 175	228	33008
<i>O.Crum</i> 110	229	33009	<i>O.Crum</i> 176	68	32848
<i>O.Crum</i> 112	306	33086	<i>O.Crum</i> 177	72	32852
<i>O.Crum</i> 114	70	32850	<i>O.Crum</i> 178	120	32900
<i>O.Crum</i> 118	126	32906	<i>O.Crum</i> 179	303	33083
<i>O.Crum</i> 119	181	32961	<i>O.Crum</i> 183	300	33080
<i>O.Crum</i> 120	252	33032	<i>O.Crum</i> 184	45	32825
<i>O.Crum</i> 123	331	33111	<i>O.Crum</i> 185	13	32793
<i>O.Crum</i> 124	135	32915	<i>O.Crum</i> 191	289	33069
<i>O.Crum</i> 125	298	33078	<i>O.Crum</i> 192	294	33074
<i>O.Crum</i> 126	84	32864	<i>O.Crum</i> 193	160	32940
<i>O.Crum</i> 127	191	32971	<i>O.Crum</i> 194	42	32822
<i>O.Crum</i> 128	210	32990	<i>O.Crum</i> 195	146	32926
<i>O.Crum</i> 129	281	33061	<i>O.Crum</i> 196	223	33003
<i>O.Crum</i> 130	240	33020	<i>O.Crum</i> 197	249	33029
<i>O.Crum</i> 134	275	33055	<i>O.Crum</i> 198	291	33071
<i>O.Crum</i> 136	148	32928	<i>O.Crum</i> 199	302	33082
<i>O.Crum</i> 138	36	32816	<i>O.Crum</i> 200	198	32978
<i>O.Crum</i> 139	78	32858	<i>O.Crum</i> 201	17	32797
<i>O.Crum</i> 140	80	32860	<i>O.Crum</i> 203	92	32872
<i>O.Crum</i> 141	96	32876	<i>O.Crum</i> 209	225	33005
<i>O.Crum</i> 142	237	33017	<i>O.Crum</i> 210	65	32845
<i>O.Crum</i> 143	239	33019	<i>O.Crum</i> 211	134	32914
<i>O.Crum</i> 154	147	32927	<i>O.Crum</i> 213	127	32907
<i>O.Crum</i> 155	174	32954	<i>O.Crum</i> 215	3	32783
<i>O.Crum</i> 156	272	33052	<i>O.Crum</i> 217	329	33109
<i>O.Crum</i> 157	61	32841	<i>O.Crum</i> 218	14	32794
<i>O.Crum</i> 158	166	32946	<i>O.Crum</i> 219	22	32802
<i>O.Crum</i> 159	169	32949	<i>O.Crum</i> 220	59	32839
<i>O.Crum</i> 164	108	32888	<i>O.Crum</i> 221	282	33062

Publication	EEF #	EA #	Publication	EEF #	EA #
<i>O.Crum</i> 222	177	32957	<i>O.Crum</i> 285	74	32854
<i>O.Crum</i> 223	268	33048	<i>O.Crum</i> 286	158	32938
<i>O.Crum</i> 225	57	32837	<i>O.Crum</i> 287	227	33007
<i>O.Crum</i> 226	145	32925	<i>O.Crum</i> 288	286	33066
<i>O.Crum</i> 231	262	33042	<i>O.Crum</i> 290	193	32973
<i>O.Crum</i> 232	103	32883	<i>O.Crum</i> 291	284	33064
<i>O.Crum</i> 233	123	32903	<i>O.Crum</i> 293	335	33115
<i>O.Crum</i> 234	299	33079	<i>O.Crum</i> 295	37	32817
<i>O.Crum</i> 239	149	32929	<i>O.Crum</i> 296	58	32838
<i>O.Crum</i> 240	212	32992	<i>O.Crum</i> 297	97	32877
<i>O.Crum</i> 241	244	33024	<i>O.Crum</i> 299	170	32950
<i>O.Crum</i> 246	28	32808	<i>O.Crum</i> 300	5	32785
<i>O.Crum</i> 247	48	32828	<i>O.Crum</i> 301	231	33011
<i>O.Crum</i> 248	142	32922	<i>O.Crum</i> 303	7	32787
<i>O.Crum</i> 250	314	33094	<i>O.Crum</i> 304	89	32869
<i>O.Crum</i> 251	248	33028	<i>O.Crum</i> 305	182	32962
<i>O.Crum</i> 261	115	32895	<i>O.Crum</i> 307	60	32840
<i>O.Crum</i> 262	56	32836	<i>O.Crum</i> 308	238	33018
<i>O.Crum</i> 263	67	32847	<i>O.Crum</i> 309	320	33100
<i>O.Crum</i> 264	247	33027	<i>O.Crum</i> 310	31	32811
<i>O.Crum</i> 266	200	32980	<i>O.Crum</i> 311	99	32879
<i>O.Crum</i> 269	319	33099	<i>O.Crum</i> 312	100	32880
<i>O.Crum</i> 270	131	32911	<i>O.Crum</i> 313	102	32882
<i>O.Crum</i> 271	211	32991	<i>O.Crum</i> 317	261	33041
<i>O.Crum</i> 273	144	32924	<i>O.Crum</i> 318	167	32947
<i>O.Crum</i> 276	29	32809	<i>O.Crum</i> 321	24	32804
<i>O.Crum</i> 277	141	32921	<i>O.Crum</i> 322	44	32824
<i>O.Crum</i> 278	283	33063	<i>O.Crum</i> 323	55	32835
<i>O.Crum</i> 279	288	33068	<i>O.Crum</i> 324	91	32871
<i>O.Crum</i> 280	25	32805	<i>O.Crum</i> 325	114	32894
<i>O.Crum</i> 281	43	32823	<i>O.Crum</i> 326	207	32987
<i>O.Crum</i> 282	49	32829	<i>O.Crum</i> 327	179	32959
<i>O.Crum</i> 283	153	32933	<i>O.Crum</i> 331	26	32806

Publication	EEF #	EA #	Publication	EEF #	EA #
<i>O.Crum</i> 332	69	32849	<i>O.Crum</i> 437	75	32855
<i>O.Crum</i> 333	107	32887	<i>O.Crum</i> 438	95	32875
<i>O.Crum</i> 334	76	32856	<i>O.Crum</i> 439	156	32936
<i>O.Crum</i> 335	90	32870	<i>O.Crum</i> 440	173	32953
<i>O.Crum</i> 336	295	33075	<i>O.Crum</i> 441	176	32956
<i>O.Crum</i> 337	325	33105	<i>O.Crum</i> 443	219	32999
<i>O.Crum</i> 350	245	33025	<i>O.Crum</i> 444	251	33031
<i>O.Crum</i> 351	52	32832	<i>O.Crum</i> 450	10	32790
<i>O.Crum</i> 352	246	33026	<i>O.Crum</i> 451	327	33107
<i>O.Crum</i> 353	73	32853	<i>O.Crum</i> 457	273	33053
<i>O.Crum</i> 354	64	32844	<i>O.Crum</i> 458	241	33021
<i>O.Crum</i> 355	62	32842	<i>O.Crum</i> 460	204	32984
<i>O.Crum</i> 356	162	32942	<i>O.Crum</i> 461	269	33049
<i>O.Crum</i> 357	278	33058	<i>O.Crum</i> 463	117	32897
<i>O.Crum</i> 358	184	32964	<i>O.Crum</i> 464	232	33012
<i>O.Crum</i> 359	190	32970	<i>O.Crum</i> 465	94	32874
<i>O.Crum</i> 360	213	32993	<i>O.Crum</i> 468	313	33093
<i>O.Crum</i> 362	271	33051	<i>O.Crum</i> 470	332	33112
<i>O.Crum</i> 363	279	33059	<i>O.Crum</i> 471	187	32967
<i>O.Crum</i> 364	287	33067	<i>O.Crum</i> 473	87	32867
<i>O.Crum</i> 365	304	33084	<i>O.Crum</i> 474	101	32881
<i>O.Crum</i> 366	336	33116	<i>O.Crum</i> 475	132	32912
<i>O.Crum</i> 367	315	33095	<i>O.Crum</i> 476	233	33013
<i>O.Crum</i> 387	38	32818	<i>O.Crum</i> 477	297	33077
<i>O.Crum</i> 389	98	32878	<i>O.Crum</i> 478	259	33039
<i>O.Crum</i> 390	255	33035	<i>O.Crum</i> 481	6	32786
<i>O.Crum</i> 402	136	32916	<i>O.Crum</i> 482	264	33044
<i>O.Crum</i> 404	112	32892	<i>O.Crum</i> 483	334	33114
<i>O.Crum</i> 409	253	33033	<i>O.Crum</i> 484	194	32974
<i>O.Crum</i> 431	12	32792	<i>O.Crum</i> 485	290	33070
<i>O.Crum</i> 432	330	33110	<i>O.Crum</i> 486	124	32904
<i>O.Crum</i> 433	333	33113	<i>O.Crum</i> 487	151	32931
<i>O.Crum</i> 436	285	33065	<i>O.Crum</i> 488	140	32920

Publication	EEF #	EA #	Publication	EEF #	EA #
<i>O.Crum</i> 489	221	33001	<i>O.Crum</i> 514	186	32966
<i>O.Crum</i> 490	254	33034	<i>O.Crum</i> 515	321	33101
<i>O.Crum</i> 491	137	32917	<i>O.Crum</i> 517	116	32896
<i>O.Crum</i> 493	202	32982	<i>O.Crum</i> 518	105	32885
<i>O.Crum</i> 511	337	33117	<i>O.Crum</i> 520	216	32996
<i>O.Crum</i> 512	260	33040	<i>O.CrumAd.</i> 6	339	33119

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I Papiri di Eschilo e di Sofocle. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Firenze 14-15 giugno 2012, a cura di G. Bastianini e A. Casanova. Edizioni dell'Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli" 2. Firenze University Press, 2013. vii + 243 pages + 10 plates. ISBN 978-88-6655-386-1.

This volume collects the proceedings of a conference on the papyri of Aeschylus and Sophocles held at the Istituto Vitelli in Florence, Italy, in 2012. It follows other volumes originating from similar conferences and collecting studies on the papyri of Posidippus, Menander, Euripides, Callimachus, Sappho and Alcaeus, Hesiod, the ancient novel, Christian authors, and Homer.

I will give here an overview of the studies collected in this volume. Piero Totaro discusses the papyri of the *Niobe* plays of Aeschylus and of Sophocles, focusing in particular on a reading in PSI 11.1208.7 of Aeschylus' *Niobe* (pp. 1-17). Matteo Taufer discusses the papyri of the *Seven against Thebes*, concluding that these papyri (*P.Oxy.* 18.2179 + 2163 fr. 10, *P.Oxy.* 22.2333, and *P.Oxy.* 22.2334) help us to confirm the colometry, which is not always correctly preserved by the medieval tradition. In addition, they offer interesting variants, some of which are certainly incorrect but whose presence in papyri mostly dating to the second century AD suggests that the manuscript tradition of Aeschylus' plays is more complex than generally assumed. The idea that the medieval manuscripts derive from one single archetype should be revised (pp. 19-31). Patrick Finglass focuses on the value of papyri for textual criticism in Sophocles, concluding that a dozen readings that are attested only in papyri seem to be genuine and should be adopted in the text of Sophocles. *P.Oxy.* 18.2180 is particularly interesting, as it yields four of these better and otherwise unattested readings. In addition, papyri offer another dozen readings which are correct and scarcely attested in the medieval manuscripts. These results are even more significant when we take into account that the number of Sophocles papyri is limited (18 in total for the 7 tragedies), and the fragments themselves are not very extensive. The fact that the good readings are not concentrated in a restricted number of fragments but are spread throughout several papyri (even if *P.Oxy.* 18.2180 stands out) proves that the papyri carry a text of Sophocles different from the medieval tradition and most likely closer to the original (pp. 33-51).

Guido Avezù discusses Sophoclean satyr plays (the *Ichneutae* are preserved by *P.Oxy.* 8.1174 + *P.Oxy.* 17.2081[a] and the *Inachus* by *P.Tebt.* 3.1.692 and *P.Oxy.* 33.2369), concluding his analysis with a table listing possible titles of Sophocles' satyr plays and tragedies dealing with the main mythological sagas (pp. 53-63). Massimo Pinto (with a preface section by Luciano Canfora) tells the story of the fake manuscript of Aeschylus' *Persians* by the nineteenth-

century forger Constantine Simonidis (p. 65-79). The article by Alan Sommerstein, who tries to reconstruct the Dionysian trilogy of Aeschylus, is more literary-oriented but nonetheless very interesting. According to Sommerstein, the trilogy started with the *Toxotides*, dealing with the myth of Actaeon who was punished by Zeus for his desire to marry Semele; the second play was the *Semele* or *Hydrophoroi*, on the story of Semele, Zeus, and Hera, then followed by the *Xantriai* or *Pentheus* dealing with Pentheus' death. The thematic link would have been the depiction of a human (Actaeon, Semele, Pentheus) punished through divine madness because he/she had offended a divinity (Zeus, Hera, and Dionysus; pp. 81-94). Luigi Battezzato discusses *P.Oxy.* 27.2452, a fragment from a tragedy on Theseus, which contains a dialogue between Ariadne and Eriboea/Periboea. A comparison with the *hypothesis* of Euripides' *Theseus* (*P.Oxy.* 68.4640) as well as with some Aristophanic scholia quoting lines from this tragedy excludes the possibility that the papyrus preserves a passage from the Euripidean play; on the other hand, the presence of Eriboea/Periboea, whose descendants included Miltiades and Cimon, suggests that this tragedy has to be linked with the revival of Theseus' cult facilitated by Cimon, when he brought Theseus' bones back to Athens in 476/5 BC. If this reconstruction is correct, the tragedy preserved in *P.Oxy.* 27.2452 might perhaps be by Sophocles and would be a celebration of some Athenian aristocratic families (including the *genos* of Cimon), yet performed during a "popular" festival such as the Dionysia (pp. 95-117).

Paolo Scattolin surveys the information concerning Sophocles' *Tereus* and derived from two papyri, *P.Oxy.* 42.3013 and *P.Oxy.* 76.5093. The former is a *hypothesis* of a *Tereus*, which can be attributed to Sophocles thanks to a note of Tzetzes on Hesiod's *Works and Days* 568. In *P.Oxy.* 76.5093, on the other hand, an anonymous author informs us that Euripides' *Medea* (431 BC) was defeated by Sophocles' *Tereus*. Medea's infanticide was shocking, yet in Sophocles' *Tereus* a mother also killed her child and served him to her husband for dinner. According to Scattolin, *Medea* was more shocking and lost the competition not because of the infanticide but because Medea was a barbarian, while Procne was a Greek taking vengeance against the barbarian Tereus – a more appealing plot for the Greek audience (pp. 119-141). While this hypothesis is possible, I wonder whether Euripides' *Medea* lost because Medea went unpunished for infanticide, flying away on the chariot of the Sun, while poor Procne was condemned throughout her "new" life as a nightingale to weep and mourn her child Itys.

Augusto Guida focuses on *P.Oxy.* 9.1174, preserving Sophocles' *Ichneutae*: he discusses possible readings and suggests some new ones (pp. 143-157). Alexander Garvie's article is on the literary implications of *P.Oxy.* 20.2256, fr.

3, a *hypothesis* which dates Aeschylus' *Supplices* to the 460s. Garvie finds this a "shocking" dating, since the *Supplices* has always been considered an early play of Aeschylus. Yet Garvie shows that in many respects it is "as modern" as the later ones (in terms of structure, the role of the chorus, and its relationship with actors), and so the papyrus should be trusted (pp. 159-171). Angelo Casanova focuses on Aeschylus' *Diktyoulkoi* (preserved in *PSI* 11.1209 and *P.Oxy.* 18.2161) and tries to reconstruct the plot of the satyr play (pp. 173-184). This is quite an interesting paper; yet it would have been better to also offer the original Greek text and not only the Italian translation when the text of the papyrus is discussed, as one often wonders what the original text might say.

Paolo Carrara surveys the presence of Aeschylus at Oxyrhynchus: 26 papyri of Aeschylus come from Oxyrhynchus, which is very interesting given the scarcity of papyrus fragment of Aeschylus in general (32 of Aeschylus against the 36 of Sophocles and the 170 of Euripides). Among the Oxyrhynchus papyri, four papyri (*PSI* 11.1211, *P.Oxy.* 22.2333, *P.Oxy.* 22.2334, and *P.Oxy.* 56.3838) look like "single" books, but the others seem to derive from two "editorial enterprises" on Aeschylus: the fragments written by scribe A3 (20 papyri) and then *P.Oxy.* 20.2256, which collects a series of fragments of Aeschylus, and perhaps *P.Oxy.* 20.2257, which shows similarity to *P.Oxy.* 20.2256, and so may also belong to the same editorial project; both projects point towards a renewed interest in Aeschylus during the second century AD after the decline during the Hellenistic period (pp. 185-198). Franco Ferrari deals with some specific points of *P.Oxy.* 18.2162, preserving a passage from Aeschylus' *Theoroi*: he discusses the entity of the mysterious "images/portraits not according to human measures" (εἰκὸν[ς] οὐ κατ' ἀνθρώπου σ[τάθμην]) mentioned in col. i, l. 1 and of the "toys" (ἀθύρματα) mentioned in col. iii, l. 14, as well as the presence of choral parts in col. ii, concluding his article with the text and the translation of the fragment (pp. 199-215). Marco Stroppa surveys the exegetical papyri of Sophocles, distinguishing papyri with marginal notes, *hypotheseis*, entries in lexica which derive or may derive from Sophocles, treatises (*syngammata*), and quotations of Sophocles in exegetical works concerning other authors. Regrettably, no *hypomnemata* on Sophocles have yet been found (pp. 217-231). Finally Guido Bastianini offers a new edition and commentary of the marginal scholia to the *Oedipus Rex* contained in *PSI* 11.1192 (pp. 233-243).

As my (rather long) survey shows, the content of the volume is rich and varied. The topics covered reflect the specific orientation of each scholar: some articles are clearly papyrological (e.g., Bastianini, Ferrari), others more philological (e.g., Totaro, Tauber, Finglass), others more literary (e.g., Avezzù, Sommerstein, Garvie, Casanova); others bring together a papyrological analysis and more literary discussion (e.g., Battezzato); finally, there is at least one con-

tribution (that of Carrara) which focuses on the information that the papyri can give about the “historical” reception of one of these tragic poets in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Although the articles are generally of good quality, the volume suffers the usual problem of many proceedings: they are a collection of several, often interesting scholarly contributions, but it is difficult to find unity among them, aside, in this specific case, the fact that this collection concerns the “papyri of Aeschylus and Sophocles” – yet one of the best articles in this volume in my view, the one by Sommerstein, is not really about papyri, as it engages only very briefly with *P.Oxy.* 18.2164 and is mostly a literary study on one lost trilogy of Aeschylus. To have a more cohesive volume, one would have wished for a more general article at the end (or at the beginning) giving an overview of the papyri of Aeschylus and Sophocles, and of their value and significance for the study of these two poets. In addition, even if there are eight articles dedicated to Aeschylus and seven to Sophocles, one feels that the two authors are not treated equally: for example, while there are two articles on the exegesis of Sophocles, there are none on the exegesis of Aeschylus. Even if the exegetical papyri of Aeschylus have already been edited in *CLGP* vol. 1.1 (pp. 19-73), at least one article discussing the exegesis of Aeschylus from a broader perspective would have been welcome. In fact, even for Sophocles one would have wished for an analysis of the ancient exegesis preserved in papyri in addition to the list of Stroppa and the very detailed, papyrological article by Bastianini. Indeed, one or more articles detailing the ancient reception of both poets as attested in papyri from the Hellenistic and Roman periods would have added greatly to the volume. From this perspective, the article of Carrara is among the most interesting in the collection as it gives an overview of the ancient reception of Aeschylus, even if limited to the papyri of Oxyrhynchus. A similar article for Sophocles would have been beneficial to the volume.

In volumes such as this, final indexes (of manuscripts, names, passages, and topics) are absolutely necessary. However, in this volume there is no index at all, which makes its consultation quite difficult. There are also some (indeed small) inaccuracies which could have been avoided with more accurate copyediting, such as nouns in italics as if they were titles when they are simply mythological names (e.g., “nymphs” at p. 91 and “Teseo” at p. 109). More importantly, the tables in Avezzù’s article (p. 56) which are in principle very interesting, could have been clearer and easier to read. All in all, however, this collection offers valuable articles on two of the three greatest tragedians.

Philodemus on Property Management, translated with an introduction and notes by Voula Tsouna. Writings from the Greco-Roman World 33. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012. xlv + 125. ISBN 9781589837652.

Philodemus' Περὶ οἰκονομίας or *On Household Management*, which is Book 9 of his *On Vices and Their Opposing Virtues*, stands out among the writings of this Epicurean philosopher for three reasons. Its text survives in one of the best preserved of the Herculaneum papyri, namely P.Herc. 1424; it was edited by Christian Jensen, who was one of the most brilliant editors whom these papyri have had; and it is of extraordinary interest in itself as a treatment of economics in the ancient world, particularly at a time when the terrible effects of unregulated capitalism's economic crisis have wrongly come to bulk larger than the diseased ideology and grubby political decisions that caused it. Scholars have been able to reconstruct this text with great accuracy because the philosopher rebuts two works that have come down to us through the Medieval tradition – Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* and a second *Oeconomicus* found among the works of Aristotle, which Philodemus attributes, with what one would have thought was decisive authority, to Theophrastus. At the end of the work, Philodemus offers us his own thoughts on the topic. The translation and notes by Tsouna (henceforward Ts.) constitute the first treatment of this work in English, and her book deserves a warm welcome from everyone interested in ancient ethics and economics.

The Introduction begins by noting that, for many among the ancients, economics was a branch of ethics (modern bankers take note). To what extent are the acquisition and retention of material goods essential to happiness? In what ways are these aims compatible with the good life? Whereas Xenophon and Theophrastus suppose there is no limit to material acquisition (i.e., in modern parlance, to “growth”), they nonetheless suppose that, so long as acquisition is legal, those who succeed at it thereby display virtue in the art of acquiring wealth, ideally by the close supervision of agricultural property (pp. xi-xvii). Philodemus has difficulty in agreeing that such people can have a virtuous character if their aim is to maximize their wealth above all else. Ts. reviews his objections, showing how cogent they are and how consistently they accord with Epicurean principles (pp. xvii-xxiv). From col. xii onwards Philodemus outlines his own views, drawing on Metrodorus' *On wealth*. The wise property-manager will temper the need to maximize profit with other considerations. He will share with his friends, since they will return more real wealth to him over the long term than they seem to cost in the short term. He will look on his gains and losses with some detachment and avoid sources of wealth like

the exploitation of slaves in the mines, although income from rental property is acceptable. In other words, he will not be dedicated exclusively to material goals. His ideal source of income will be contributions gratefully received from friends to whom he imparts his wisdom, i.e., in modern terms, payment for college-level teaching (pp. xxv-xl). The introduction ends with an account of the papyrus and the purpose of the book, which is “to be accessible to readers who have an interest in the subject but do not necessarily know Greek” (pp. xl-xliv). It amply succeeds in this respect.

The fluent translation, facing the text, is the heart of the book and is keyed to notes at the back. There are some lively turns of phrase, such as “big spender” and “liquid assets,” and errors are relatively few. At col. v 2, ἔμφασις means “implication.” At col. v 12, ἐπ’ αὐτήν means “with a view to it,” i.e. prosperity. At col. v 17, πα[ρά] means “because of.” At col. vi 17, the supplied noun with τὴν αὐτήν is “discipline” (ἐπιστήμη) not “meaning.” At col. vii 41, μᾶλλον δέ means “and still more.” At col. viii 19-21, ἴδιον is better translated “particularity.” At col. ix 26, for “other <slaves>” read simply “others.” At col. ix 43, for “work more” read “work most.” At col. x 26-28, the words “for they (sc. the free) ... instituted” are rebuttal, not quotation. At col. xii 1 θεματίζω means “lay down as a general principle.” At col. xii 16 δεούσης is “necessary,” not “appropriate,” and at col. xviii 26 διαφέρον is “interest,” not “difference.” In col. xix 18-23, read “easily satisfied *even* with few possessions, while wealth repays a certain measure of care and toil for the purpose of succor *by means of it*.” At col. xxi 1, for “possesses money” read “is master of his money” (κυριεύει). At col. xxvi 45, for “offers” read “injunctions.”

For the papyrologist this book best serves as a powerful protreptic to further work on this text. P.Herc. 1424 preserves the last thirty-three columns of a roll that once contained ninety-eight. Since it is written in the commonest hand in the Herculanean library (the Anonimo XXV of G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* [Naples 1983]), and there has been no comprehensive survey of all the fragments in this hand, its outer parts have yet to be identified. Ts. gives a lucid account of the papyrus’ palaeography and editorial history (the second set of Neapolitan *disegni* was made in 1807-1808, not 1814, and corrections of εἰ for ἰ are made by putting a dot over the ε, not over the ι).

The text is based on Jensen’s Teubner of 1906, but Ts. has also studied both the infra-red digital photographs and the papyrus itself, unfortunately before the introduction in 1997 of microscopes with annular lighting. A number of excellent new readings (some owed to D. Delattre and D. Sedley), e.g. ἐπιθυμιῶν at col. xvi 32, are signalled in footnotes. However, all the supplements printed in Jensen are ascribed to him, even when Jensen credits them to others. Overlapping columns are still not separated, e.g. in col. v. At col.

ix 25 ἦ is inserted without angle-brackets, and at col. xxxviii 2-3 ὕ||πογράφ-φ[ε]iv has fallen out entirely. At col. xvi 16 πέραι should be πέρα{\iota/}, as Cavallo's plate XLV confirms. Most importantly, Jensen's edition is followed so closely that the Leiden convention of 1927 is not. Jensen distinguished αᾱ "litterae mutilae sed non dubiae" from [αᾱ] "litterae mutilae", but Ts. does not reproduce his explanation of this obsolete convention. Thus at col. i 18 what should now be τότε is printed [τ]όττε. The rash of dots makes the text look far less secure than it in fact is; having survived the pyroclastic surge so well, the papyrus did not deserve to catch measles.

The translation twice points to the correct reading even when it is not printed. At col. xv 3 αὐτοῦ should be αὐτοῦ, and is so translated (the subject is τις at col. xiv 37). At col. xxii 25 Ts. translates as if <καὶ> has fallen out before κατὰ, as it surely has. προειρημένοις at col. xvii 2 and προειρημένον at col. xxi 14 are scribal misspellings of προηρη- from (προ)αίρεομαι, like περιείρηκα and περιειρηκότες (col. xviii 20, xii 32); the translations and notes need adjusting accordingly.

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Anne-Emmanuelle Veïsse and Stéphanie Wackenier (eds.), *L'armée en Égypte aux époques perse, ptolémaïque et romaine*. Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 51 = Cahiers de l'atelier Aigyptos 2. iv + 258 pages. Genève: Droz, 2014. ISBN 9782600013772.

This small volume collects seven papers that deal, in one way or another, with the army in late period Egypt. Preceded by a very brief introduction (pp. 1-3) by the volume editors (who do not themselves contribute a paper) and followed by indices (sources, rulers, geographical names), the book is the second in a new series *Cahiers de l'atelier Aigyptos*, a sub-series of the *Hautes études du monde gréco-romain*. The papers were first presented during a round table conference in Paris in 2009.

The first three papers give an interesting overview of military activity in the Egyptian Delta, a region otherwise underrepresented in the written sources, because papyrus does not well preserve there. Amaury Pétigny ("Des étrangers pour garder les frontières de l'Égypte aux Ve et IV^e siècles av. J.-C.," pp. 5-43) gives a detailed overview of the frontier defenses in the south and north-east during the Persian occupations of Egypt. The natural frontier in the south is the first cataract, south of the Island of Elephantine. The Persians here continued a military presence that is already attested in this region from the first Egyptian dynasty onwards to actively engage with the Kushite threat from the south. The largely Aramaic sources show a garrison made up of soldiers of different ethnic backgrounds. On the north-east side of Egypt, the natural frontier defense is to be found near Pelusium. Archaeological remains showing military presence in this region go back to the fifth century BCE. And although Pelusium was not at the fringes of their empire, the Persians maintained military presence there to be able to deal with possible revolts, and to guard important taxation routes. Here, too, archaeological remains and a handful of textual sources suggest garrisons made up of different ethnic groups, largely from the Near East. The final part of this paper compares the situation in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE with earlier and later periods, which do appear to show the same mixed pattern of ethnic make-up of garrisons involved.

The paper by Bérangère Redon ("Le maillage militaire du Delta égyptien sous les Lagides," pp. 45-80) gives a brief overview of archaeological remains of the five fortresses known from the Delta as well as textual sources (inscriptions and papyri) that refer to the presence of the Ptolemaic army in the Delta. Combined, the sources suggest a gradual intensification (illustrated with maps on pp. 78-79) of military presence in the Delta in the course of the Ptolemaic period. The sources for the last century of Ptolemaic rule are too scarce to allow any conclusions whether or not this intensification was continued.

Jean-Yves Carrez-Maratray (“L’armée lagide sur le front du Delta, intervenants et champs d’opération [encore le syngénès Aristonikos Caire JE 85743],” pp. 81-104) tries to convince the reader that the Aristonikos who features on a statue recently published (Cairo JE 85743) is identical to the Aristonikos mentioned by Polybius. The main problem with this identification (and the reason why it has been rejected so far) is that Polybius’ Aristonikos was active in the 180s BCE and the statue cannot be earlier than 125 BCE on art-historical grounds. But the author is not discouraged and provides three arguments to support an identification. His first argument (pp. 84-85) is very weak. According to the author, most attestations of the name Aristonikos occur in the third and early second centuries BCE, so it is unexpected to find a late second century attestation of the name. However, a search in the Person database of Trismegistos (accessed 1 December 2014) shows that the 71 attestations of the name Aristonikos are spread quite evenly over the Ptolemaic and even Roman periods. The second argument (pp. 85-91) is also interesting. Although Polybius nowhere identifies his Aristonikos with the court title *syngenes* (as the Aristonikos in the inscription), the author assumes that, actually, he was *syngenes*, too. In the course of this second argument, the author takes art historians to task and suggests that the so-called “Striding draped male figure” dress style that is currently dated to after 125 BCE could have occurred earlier, and perhaps even be the dress code for all *syngeneis* in Ptolemaic Egypt. The third and final argument (pp. 92-94) is to link the “qualités ... d’humanité” ascribed to the Aristonikos of the inscription with descriptions found for Polybius’ Aristonikos both in his *Histories* and in an inscription from Philae. In this argument I would have liked to see more awareness of the different genres (honorary inscription and Greek historiography) that are being compared. It may be clear that I am at present not convinced by the author’s three arguments. The final part of the paper describes all that we know of the activity of Polybius’ Aristonikos in the Nile Delta with the help of some other sources.

With the paper by Katelijin Vanderpe (“The Ptolemaic Army in Upper Egypt [2nd-1st centuries B.C.],” pp. 105-135) we leave the Delta and venture south. The author gives us a detailed analysis of the ways in which the Ptolemaic state strengthened control over the Thebaid in the second century BCE. Leaving aside several administrative measures (more Greek-writing officials and intensification of administration by increasing tax areas, royal banks and notarial offices), Vanderpe here focuses on the ways in which the Ptolemies strengthened control by actively recruiting local soldiers to enlarge the army in the second century BCE. Instead of being given land (as in the Fayum), in the Thebaid these men became mercenary soldiers who received a monthly allowance in kind and money. Vanderpe then describes how the new mercenary

soldiers were integrated in the army in units of 256 men called a *semeion*. In these units, the men assume an artificial ethnic (Persian or Macedonian), and it is interesting to note that a move from “Persian” to “Macedonian” was one of the possible ways of promotion. Another way to receive promotion that developed in the late second century BCE was for these mercenary soldiers to receive a small plot of land. These second-century military reforms in Southern Egypt, added to the administrative reforms in the same region, show yet again that the traditional model of second century BCE Ptolemaic decline and continuous internal crisis should be revised.

With the paper by Christelle Fischer-Bovet (“Un aspect des conséquences des réformes de l’armée lagide: soldats, temples égyptiens et inviolabilité [asylie],” pp. 137-169) we stay in the Ptolemaic period. Building on her study of the Ptolemaic army (both its organization and social impact) now published as *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge 2014), she here discusses the economic and religious roles by army officers *vis-à-vis* local elites in late Ptolemaic Egypt. In particular she focuses on inscriptions that document petitions from army officers to the king to request right of asylum for a local temple. She sees these inscriptions (a dozen surviving largely in villages) as indicators of the unifying role of the military on the local level. In particular, Fischer-Bovet discusses three requests by members of the royal guard, stressing their role as connectors between the Greek court in Alexandria and Egyptian local priestly elites. As such these asylum decrees should not be seen as indicators of a power struggle between king and priests, as has traditionally been done, but rather as indicators of active negotiations for power on the local level between soldiers, the court, and priestly elites.

Gilles Gorre (“Korax fils de Ptolémée-Psenpchois un stratège du Tentyrite?” pp. 171-188) analyzes a man occurring on two statues from Denderah (Cairo JE 45390 and Philadelphia 40-19-3): Korax. This man has often been identified as a nome *strategos*, but the detailed analysis of the present paper shows that this was most likely not the case. After discussing what little is known about this man’s family (including a rebuttal of earlier family reconstructions by Farid and Blasius), the author analyzes the personal name Korax itself, and concludes that contrary to what previous scholars have assumed (e.g., www.trismegistos.org/name/3736, “The raven”) this is not necessarily a name denoting a Greek origin. A final section about the functions and titles held by the man concludes the paper, showing that Korax was more likely a military officer than a nome *strategos*.

The final paper by François Kayser (“Épitaphes et monuments des soldats romains en Égypte,” pp. 189-243 with ten figures) is the only one of the volume to really account for the “Roman” of the title. It intends to offer a typology and

analysis of the roughly 50 military funerary inscriptions from Egypt in the first three centuries CE. Most of these come from the military cemetery in Alexandria and represent soldiers who died in active service. The majority was written in Latin, although with sufficient interferences in language and style to identify them as coming from a Greek-speaking world. The typology shows a clear distinction between epitaphs for soldiers of the IIIrd and XXIIInd legion (in Egypt until the early/mid second century CE) and the IIInd legion, attested from the second century onwards. This difference shows in formulary, onomastics and monument (iconography and material). In an appendix (pp. 230-232), Kayser publishes an epitaph from the museum in Alexandria (inv. 24490).

As one can see from the above summary, the papers are sufficiently different so as to make any attempt at synthesis difficult, and this may explain why the volume editors have not done so. At the same time, I do note that some more explicit connections between papers could have been teased out, such as the second century BCE military intensification noted by both Redon (Delta) and Vandorpe (Thebaid). A similar exercise would have been helpful to bring out the role of ethnic identity of the military in the Persian (Pétigny), Ptolemaic (Fischer-Bovet), and Roman (Kayser) periods. The whole point of such round tables as the one that led to the current volume is exactly to bring different perspectives to the table and to try and reach common ground on bigger themes. Any attempt to do so also in print, even if only by giving an impression of the various discussions that took place, would add to the impact of a volume like this.

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Kostas Buraselis, Mary Stefanou, and Dorothy J. Thompson (eds.),
The Ptolemies, the Sea and the Nile: Studies in Waterborne Power.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. xxii + 274 pages.
ISBN 978-1-107-03335-1.

The Nile gave the gift of its agricultural wealth to the Ptolemaic kingdom as it had to the pharaohs who preceded them. The lands watered by the Nile remained the core territory of the kingdom throughout its existence, and so historians of Ptolemaic Egypt have, naturally enough, devoted most of their attention to Alexandria, the *chora*, and the people living there. The rich documentation available in the papyri has played a role in this territorial focus, perhaps even more so in recent decades as concerted efforts have been made to join Demotic papyri and other Egyptian-language materials to the Greek evidence in order better to understand the dynamics of foreign rule in Egypt.¹ In a wider historical frame, P. Horden and N. Purcell's *Corrupting Sea* and the development of a "new thalassology" have spurred a renewed interest in Mediterranean connectivity,² but despite this Egypt is still often regarded as a place apart.³ Even if one bears these trends in mind, it is still surprising that, despite new epigraphical discoveries and important studies of a smaller scale, there has not been a major book-length treatment of the Ptolemies "overseas" for almost 40 years.⁴ *The Ptolemies, the Sea and the Nile* is a welcome effort at redirecting scholarly attention to the maritime dimensions of a riverine kingdom.

The volume originated in the Third International Ptolemaic Colloquium held in Piraeus in September of 2009. Both the conference and the volume were dedicated to the memory of F.W. Walbank. In the preface, C. Habicht offers a tribute, one eminent Hellenistic historian to another, and remembers

¹ J.G. Manning, *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt under the Ptolemies* (Princeton 2010), is an extremely successful culmination of long efforts to integrate Ptolemaic history into the longer history of Egypt. Understandably, its geographical focus is the Nile.

² P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study in Mediterranean History* (Oxford 2000). For the "new thalassology" see P. Horden and N. Purcell, "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology,'" *American Historical Review* 111 (2006) 722-740.

³ See R.S. Bagnall, "Egypt and the Concept of the Mediterranean," in W.V. Harris (ed.), *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford 2005) 339-347. C. Broodbank's *The Making of the Middle Sea* (London 2013) extends the new history of the Mediterranean (rather than history in the Mediterranean) into a deeper, pre-classical past in a way that more effectively integrates Egypt.

⁴ R.S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leiden 1976). Paul Keen has recently completed a dissertation entitled "Land of Experiment: The Ptolemies and the Development of Hellenistic Cyprus, 312-58 BC" (Chicago 2012).

Walbank most of all for his civil and humane approach to scholarly debate. The volume itself has all the strengths and limitations of joint productions based on conferences. The book does not pretend to offer a major synthesis, rather it brings together various perspectives in an effort to gather knowledge, make connections and suggest directions for further research. The introductory first chapter by D.J. Thompson and K. Buraselis (pp. 1-18), does, however, provide an overview of the fluctuating maritime dimensions of the Ptolemaic kingdom, not only the eastern Mediterranean thalassocracy of its earlier third century BCE history, but also its economic and diplomatic connections both in the Mediterranean and further afield: the Propontis and the Black Sea; the Red Sea, the East African coast, and across the Indian Ocean. Alexandria, they emphasize, had a transformative role in shaping the Ptolemaic kingdom into a maritime power: it became the central node of more robust connections between the Nile and the eastern Mediterranean than in previous periods of Egyptian history. In analyzing the Ptolemaic kingdom as a maritime power, they suggest that not only the “hard power” of warships, garrisons, and economic influence, but also “soft power,” such as religious diplomacy and promotion of the kingdom’s cultural prestige, defined the maritime imperial space of the Ptolemies.⁵ This “soft power” included the capacity to attract human capital through maritime networks, and to shape intellectual and cultural production in and about that space.

The first few papers in the book are devoted primarily to the Ptolemaic projection of power in the eastern Mediterranean by means of “hard power,” although hard and soft are, of course, entwined at numerous points. In chapter 2, for example, A. Meadows discusses the control of the League of Islanders, an amphictyonic league that the Ptolemies managed largely without garrisons but for which they appointed their own governing official (a *nesiarchos*). Meadows argues that the League of Islanders was actually a Ptolemaic creation, founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus ca. 280 or shortly after. He points out uncertainties in the evidence normally used to identify the league as an Antigonic foundation created at the end of the fourth century that was later taken over by the Ptolemies. Part of his argument involves the redating of IG 11.4.1036 (regarding the Delian or Islander foundation of a Demetrieia festival) to ca. 262/1-257 BCE rather than ca. 306 BCE. The date for this inscription, he argues, must signal the end of Ptolemaic control. The arguments have merit, but given the state of the evidence, they will surely remain the subject of debate. H. Hauben’s

⁵ For this formulation, see J.S. Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York 1990) 31-32 (cited in the work under review at p. 8, n. 27). This concept is merely a reworking for contemporary international affairs of the earlier distinction between domination and hegemony developed by Antonio Gramsci.

contribution in chapter 3 is a comparison of the careers of Callicrates of Samos and Patroclus of Macedon, two “champions of Ptolemaic thalassocracy” at the high point of Ptolemaic maritime power (ca. 270s-250s BCE). The admiral Callicrates appears as an architect of maritime “soft power” through his institution of the cult of Arsinoe-Aphrodite Euploia-Zephyritis, while the general Patroclus is a face of Ptolemaic military power, despite his lack of success in the Chremonidean War and the Battle of Cos. The reasons for the relatively meager discussion of Ptolemaic sea power in Polybius are analyzed by A. Erskine in chapter 5. He sets a famous chapter (5.34), in which Polybius criticizes Ptolemy IV Philopator’s neglect of the maritime empire that his predecessors had built up, into its broader narrative context: an account of the structural causes of Ptolemaic decline revolving around remote overseas possessions and tensions between the interests of court and state.

Even when the Ptolemaic empire in the eastern Mediterranean declined, its economic power remained significant, in part because of its capacity to export grain through maritime trade networks. V. Gabrielsen examines the privileged place of the Rhodes-Alexandria route in these networks from the perspective of New Institutional Economics (chapter 4). He argues that while high taxes and harbor dues in Rhodes and Alexandria, along with piracy, would have made for very high transaction costs, merchants still preferred this route owing to the protection provided by Rhodian vessels, and the favorable prevailing winds that allowed multiple return trips on the circuit. Gabrielsen also argues that Rhodian and Ptolemaic businessmen developed networks of traders and informants that resulted in better information flows and conditions of trust, and thus less imperfect and fragmented markets than sometimes assumed. The argument for these Rhodian-Alexandrian networks rests heavily on a set of unpublished ostraca from Rhodes that Gabrielsen has interpreted as records of purchase orders (see p. 79, n. 41). Without these, the evidence largely consists of papyri from the Zenon archive and the activities of the satrap Cleomenes. In both these latter cases, the line between commercial partnerships and the use of state-based networks for personal enrichment is muddy, as indeed Gabrielsen points out in his conclusion. K. Buraselis, in chapter 6, examines Ptolemaic seaways as conduits for exports of grain and even imports during occasional shortages. The exports, especially in the form of large gifts to allies and dominions in the Mediterranean, were another means of extending Ptolemaic maritime power. L. Criscuolo (chapter 10) provides an overview of evidence for Ptolemaic attitudes toward piracy, noting that piracy has in recent years been reconceived as a form of economic activity – another redistributive mechanism of the Mediterranean. From the limited evidence available, she suggests that the Ptolemies pursued a flexible and pragmatic policy, sometimes

repressing piracy in order to protect shipping and sometimes working with pirates in the pursuit of military objectives. M. Stefanou's contribution considers the role of the Ptolemaic maritime empire in recruiting cleruchs into the military (chapter 7). She argues that the recruitment of military settlers was not restricted to the reign of Ptolemy I, but continued throughout the third century BCE.⁶ Secondly, she suggests that since the majority of cleruchs originating from Ptolemaic possessions around the Aegean are attested after the middle of the third century, Ptolemaic maritime expansion may have played some role in recruitment. Both of these basic statistical arguments would be much stronger if she could address the distorting effect of the Zenon archive on the overall numbers and types of documents preserved on Ptolemaic papyri from before and after the middle of the third century BCE.⁷ The seas may have sustained networks vital to the economic and military strength of the Ptolemaic kingdom, but the Nile, its channels and canals remained the main arteries for the flow of goods and people within Egypt, and the Ptolemies developed a troop of river guards with cleruchic status (the *potamophylakes*) to secure them. The evidence for their duties and organization is the subject of T. Kruse's contribution (chapter 11).

An emblem of the connections between the hard and soft waterborne power of the Ptolemies could perhaps be found in the enormous ships of Philopator: the "Forty" (whatever that may mean), and his monstrous river barge (*thalamegos*). D.J. Thompson, in chapter 12, discusses these in the wider context of Hellenistic royal barges as ceremonial vessels that became essential symbolic means of projecting Hellenistic majesty and power on water, however impractical they may have been in some cases. O. Palagia (chapter 9) shows that Alexandria and possibly the Ptolemaic court itself played a role in disseminating images of the Ptolemies in the Aegean. Through a survey of Ptolemaic portraits found in Greece along with literary and epigraphical evidence, she shows that most Ptolemaic portraits found outside of Egypt were made in Al-

⁶ *Contra* R.S. Bagnall, "The Origin of Ptolemaic Cleruchs," *BASP* 21 (1984) 7-20.

⁷ Stefanou argues that the increase in numbers of Greek and Macedonian cleruchs attested after the middle of the third century BCE is unlikely to be a result of their underrepresentation in earlier papyri (pp. 123, 126). The basis of the argument is the roughly comparable volumes of papyri preserved for the first half of the third century. This does not, however, take into account the fact that ca. 80% of the papyri from the first half of the third century come from the Zenon archive. The kinds of documents preserved from before and after ca. 245 BCE are, as a result, very different, and may tend to record different kinds of individuals. On the extreme "lumpiness" of Ptolemaic data from papyri see R.S. Bagnall, *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East* (Berkeley 2011) 33-35 and 54-57.

exandria using an acrolithic technique and then shipped out to various parts of the Greek world. Many of these will have graced the sanctuaries of Ptolemaic dynastic cults found in the Cyclades, on Crete, and in mainland Greece. With the exception of a portrait of Ptolemy III from Sparta, all extant Ptolemaic portraits in Greece were found, not surprisingly, in coastal cities. Ptolemaic soft power in the eastern Mediterranean was also manifested in centripetal forces, notably in the attraction of cultural and human capital to Alexandria. In chapter 8, P. McKechnie investigates, through the lens of a Posidippus epigram (89), one failed moment in Ptolemaic “trans-marine collectionism” as it applied to intellectuals: the death at sea of Lysicles, whom he argues was a leading Academic philosopher. The case of Lysicles suggests some of the uncontrollable contingencies involved in trying to attract overseas talent.

The final three contributions to this volume all consider the ways in which Ptolemaic maritime interests shaped the production of geographical knowledge. C. Habicht (chapter 13) discusses Eudoxus of Cyzicus, whose exploration in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean was recorded by Posidonius and then by Strabo. Habicht recovers neglected arguments against the notion that a certain Hippalus discovered the monsoon, and argues that the voyages of Eudoxus were indeed the first to use the monsoon winds to travel the Indian Ocean and engage in direct trade in India – to the profit of Ptolemy VIII and Ptolemy IX, who seized his cargoes. In chapter 14, F. Prontera engages more explicitly with the relationship between Ptolemaic power and geographical knowledge by exploring the Ptolemaic admiral Timosthenes of Rhodes and the Alexandrian polymath Eratosthenes of Cyrene, in particular the relationship between the works in which they mapped out the shores of the Mediterranean. Eratosthenes derived most of his nautical distances from Timosthenes *On Harbors*, but employed them in a new scheme of meridians and latitudes, in which the Rhodes-Alexandria axis and the “Egyptian Sea” bordered by the Levant, Cyprus and Rhodes were central reference points. Chapter 15, by K. Geus, argues for the continuing influence of Ptolemaic sources such as Timosthenes on Claudius Ptolemy’s geography, particularly in his account of the east African coast and the lakes at the origin of the Nile.

The sum of these contributions, as I mentioned earlier, does not provide a comprehensive account of all dimensions of Ptolemaic waterborne power, nor should that be expected of such a work. The contingencies involved in gathering speakers for a conference and then papers for a volume almost always preclude that. Nevertheless, I did find one absence somewhat surprising: There is little discussion of the new seafaring Isis as a dimension of Ptolemaic “soft power.” Several articles do address the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies in coastal and insular sites in the eastern Mediterranean, in particular the cult of

Arsinoe-Aphrodite Euploia-Zephyritis with her clear maritime associations. And O. Palagia (p. 146) does point out that the temple of Isis and Sarapis on Thera was an early site of dynastic cult. But on the other hand, there is scarcely any other mention of Isis as a maritime divinity that in various direct and indirect ways carried the cultural prestige of Ptolemaic Egypt around the Mediterranean. This is especially surprising in light of the general consensus that the cult of Arsinoe II played an important role in shaping the maritime aspects of Isis.⁸ All the same, the volume does gather together a wide-ranging and learned assortment of observations and scholarly interventions that will prove productive. I hope and expect that it will spur historians to undertake a fresh examination of the maritime dimensions of Ptolemaic power and to look beyond the Nile in analyzing the territoriality and reach of the Ptolemaic state. Such work will, in turn, provide points of comparison with other imperial spaces of the Hellenistic world.⁹

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⁸ See, e.g. L. Bricault, *Isis Dame des Flots* (Liège 2006) 22-36.

⁹ For example, see now P. Kosmin, *The Land of the Elephant Kings: Space, Territory, and Ideology in the Seleucid Empire* (Cambridge, MA 2014), particularly Chapter 2 on the creation of maritime and riverine boundaries to Seleucid territory.

John Bauschatz, *Law and Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. xi + 415 pages. ISBN 978-1-107-03713-7.

The last two decades have seen a number of important new synthetic works on policing in the ancient world: studies of Athens and Rome,¹ of the Roman world more generally,² as well as work on the management of disputes in Roman Egypt or in Late Antiquity.³ John Bauschatz's (henceforth B.) new work extends much-needed attention to Hellenistic Egypt, attempting to synthesize and evaluate the evidence for Ptolemaic policing. The book contains five substantive chapters, an introduction, and a conclusion. Chapter 1 surveys policing in other ancient states and Chapter 2 deals with the organization of the *phylakitai* and *archiphylakitai*. In Chapter 3, B. discusses the "civil" officials who participated in policing, in particular, the *epistatai phylakiton*, toparchs, komarchs, nomarchs, and various guards. The fourth chapter introduces practices of petitioning and the relative responsiveness of officials, and the fifth chapter processes of arrest, imprisonment, and hearings. Chapter 6 deals with the use of "muscle" in daily affairs by these officials (primarily guards and *phylakitai*) to guard crops and assist in tax collection. A brief conclusion, a bibliography and a general index follow, as well as indices of official titles, translated documents, cited texts, and Greek words.

B. frames his project as more than just an attempt to elucidate the respective capacities of individual actors and institutions (though he does that, too). He sees it also as an attempt to restore institutions to their proper place in the writing of ancient history, especially the history of the Ptolemaic kingdom. Ancient historians have, in his view, understated the importance of institutions, training their attention instead on informal modes of dispute resolution and attempting to locate the means of dispute resolution in non-state, status-based systems of local hierarchies that kept the peace (31). This mode of explanation,

¹ W. Nippel, *Public Order in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge 1995); V.J. Hunter, *Policing Athens: Social Control in the Attic Lawsuits, 420-320 B.C.* (Princeton 1994).

² C. Brélaz, *La sécurité publique en Asie Mineure sous le principat (Ier – IIIème s. ap. J.-C.)*. *Institutions municipales et institutions impériales dans l'Orient romain* (Basel 2005); C.J. Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire: Soldiers, Administration, and Public Order* (Oxford 2011); H. van Wees, C. Brélaz, and P. Ducrey (eds.), *Sécurité collective et ordre public dans les sociétés anciennes* (Genève 2008).

³ T. Gagos and P. van Minnen, *Settling a Dispute: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Late Antique Egypt* (Ann Arbor 1994); J. Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge 1999); B. Kelly, *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2010).

he contends, systematically underestimates the importance of state and legal institutions, causing historians to neglect evidence that official actors did often intervene to solve problems or at least respond to petitions. Accordingly, he argues that the Ptolemaic police bore a closer resemblance to modern police with respect to their bureaucratic efficiency and professionalism; that they were both relatively autonomous and relatively well-regulated by the Ptolemaic central state; and that they were particularly effective in comparison with police forces in other ancient states. His vocabulary for describing these actors is both polemically and cheerfully anachronistic: Ptolemaic police “work the case,” “solve crimes,” and “crack cases,” they “catch crooks,” “bust offenders,” and “book” them into jails. Some will surely quibble with this choice, and in certain cases it does pose analytical problems: solving a crime is not the same as settling a dispute, and the distinction is frequently elided (for often petitioners know precisely who violated them). Also, responding to a petition or harming/imprisoning the person complained about is not the same as either settling the dispute or solving a crime.⁴ Likewise, those arrested or detained before trial are, in modern parlance, “suspects” or “the accused,” rather than “offenders,” an important distinction that B. is unconcerned about. This latter choice is a consequence of his broader method, a matter I turn to below.

B. uses two distinct methods to demonstrate his thesis, which might for convenience be labeled the positivist/institutional method and the interpretive/sociological method. They are kept sufficiently distinct throughout the book that they can be evaluated independently. In his positivist/institutional mode, B. attempts to reconstruct the daily activities of all the state officials who played some role in either responding to petitions or in performing analogous “police” functions (such as arresting, guarding, or forwarding related correspondence). To do this he assembles the relevant documentation and deduces from it the regularly re-occurring duties of police officials, and speculates (cautiously) about what might have been their peripheral duties, or when they appear in the documentation in an unofficial capacity. In this mode, B. has made an important and accessible contribution to the study of the Ptolemaic police system.

It is the interpretive/sociological mode that I will focus on for the remainder of this review, for it is in this mode that B. advances his strongest arguments for re-thinking the Ptolemaic state. Arguing that the world of petitions is “vivid, visceral, and real” (46), he urges that we maintain “a certain amount of faith in the documents and the degree of reality they reflect” (40); by presum-

⁴ With reference to the Roman period, cf. A.Z. Bryen, *Violence in Roman Egypt: A Study in Legal Interpretation* (Philadelphia 2013).

ing that papyri offer a basically faithful representation of how police acted, we can conclude two things: first, because people continually wrote petitions, they considered the police effective; second, that the relatively rapid movement of documents from one official to another demonstrates professionalism and responsiveness. Read in this way, the “evidence for law enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt shows us humans (police) helping humans (victims). It is a picture still familiar to us today” (46).

But is it? To begin with, B. does not define “effective.” He presumes instead that “effective” means something like “modern” or “western.” This is fundamentally a judgment of value, based not on hard data, but on an ideal of police power which B. presumes that “we” share (1). I do not, and I suspect that a range of racially, economically, religiously, sexually, or socially marginalized communities would not either. What is more, to posit this ideal of effective police, B. must overlook the wealth of sociological and criminological literature documenting the ways that contemporary policing contributes to this social and economic marginalization.⁵ Yet even bracketing this problem, the effectiveness of the Ptolemaic police remains impossible to assess on the basis of the evidence at hand. These officials are often accused of wrongdoing or illegitimate uses of force, and while “mistakes and miscommunications were bound to happen from time to time” (56–57), B. gives us no tool for distinguishing a mistake from standard practice – nothing other than to say that in case X an official acted rightly, while in case Y he acted wrongly but is exceptional. But to analyze the cases in this fashion merely begs the question. The real question – the one with historical consequences – remains unanswered, even unasked: effective *as compared with what*? What criteria allow us to distinguish *very* effective policing from *modestly* effective policing, or, for that matter, from venal or thuggish or downright bad policing, or even to distinguish “policing” as “we” would recognize it from predatory, state-sponsored violence?

These judgments of relative effectiveness or sophistication lie at the heart of the comparative enterprise, and *a fortiori* at the heart of any attempt at evaluation. To have analytical power, the criteria by which “effectiveness” is measured need to be stated explicitly (rather than implied anecdotally) and the ways in which the evidence measure up relative to the standard should be lucidly displayed. B.’s analyses fail to meet this methodological requirement. The attempt to place Ptolemaic Egypt in comparison to other ancient societies in chapter 1 cannot serve as a measuring rod, for, on B.’s own arguments, the forms of extant documentation are so radically distinct as to preclude direct

⁵ E.g., D. Simon, *Homicide: A Life on the Killing Streets* (Boston 1991); L. Wacquant, *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality* (Cambridge 2008); D. Fassin, *Enforcing Order: An Ethnography of Urban Policing* (Cambridge 2013).

comparison (30). Even if they could be compared, such a comparison is not attempted with any degree of rigor. One might for instance imagine an entrepreneurial ancient historian working in the so-called “social science” tradition attempting to devise some way of manipulating the epigraphic, literary, and papyrological material in such a fashion as to produce a set of proxy-data that could be analyzed to provide some tentative conclusions as to how policing in Ptolemaic Egypt compared with, e.g., policing in the Roman provinces or in early modern France. I do not know whether such an effort could be successful or meaningful. But it would at least represent an attempt to divorce the subsequent analysis from arbitrary, value-laden judgments of right and wrong, good and bad – judgments which, in presuming broad political agreement on the part of their readers, are bound to exclude if not to offend.

Connected to this is an additional problem, one that we might label “state fetishism.”⁶ The entirety of this monograph is undergirded by numerous comments that lavish praise on Ptolemaic officials: the Ptolemaic system was “sophisticated” (4), “unique and uniquely integrated” (5), officials take “action” and show “initiative” (63), over and over they are praised as “effective” or “very effective” (98, 219), they show “alacrity and thoroughness” (219), even those whose behavior was sometimes questionable can be honored as “necessary cogs” in the Ptolemaic system (111, 320). B. defends tactics that should give “us” pause, arguing that in some cases a “shoot first, ask questions later” policy would have been in order” to protect the peace (231, cf. 228). A criminal justice system where the same officials were the arresting officers, judges, and administrators of punishments (read: judge, jury, and executioner) was “not a slave to inflexible procedure and bureaucracy but rather multifaceted and elastic” (280). The list could be extended. B.’s ceaseless praise of ancient officials (and his desire to exonerate them when people complained about their actions: e.g., 70, 116, 259–60) leads him down a path where he is unable to imagine a darker side to their actions, even in the face of countervailing evidence. Yet it is often precisely *because* their actions end up hurting someone that we have documentation of them (indeed, B. displays an equivalent tendency to be skeptical of the claims of those who suffered state violence: cf. 244).

Consider *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59475, in which a certain Nikias complains to Zenon that his brother lost a mare; while searching for the mare, Nikias’ brother ended up getting arrested by a *phylakites*. Nikias asks Zenon to write to the *phylakites* about this and procure his brother’s release. Here B. sees nothing

⁶I appropriate the term from the recent discussion of S. Richardson, “Mesopotamian Political History: The Perversities,” *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History* 1 (2014) 70.

but smiles and politeness: a mere case of mistake, subsequently they would “have been able to sort out right from wrong, victim from thief” (57; cf. 228).

But problems obtrude. The categories of “victim” and “thief” are unhelpful, especially when used as markers of the ontological status of a detainee; the assumption that some people are *really* “good guys” and others *really* “bad guys” is a sort of moral Manicheanism inimical to the critical analysis of legal systems (for it is derived from the judgments of these systems). Being thrown in jail to await one’s fate is not, under any circumstances, a pleasant experience, and certainly not an optimal outcome for a person who was, in the first place, trying to reclaim *his own* property. B. understands this, as his discussion in chapter 5 shows (though he generally doubts the claims of the imprisoned “offenders,” and wonders why they failed to improve their situation or post bail: e.g., 253, 279); still, he does not extend this understanding to his analysis of this case. Yet here we are faced with the pathetic spectacle of an imprisoned man having to beg a favor from Nikias, who in turn has to beg Zenon, to get him to beg yet another party. One can hardly be surprised that people lingered in prison, and to chide prisoners for failing to post bail would seem to miss asking the interesting (institutional) question of how hard it might be to receive a reasonable estimate of bail in the first place (much less the interesting socio-economic question of whether it was possible for those imprisoned to raise the necessary cash). Indeed, the whole affair in *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59475 smells of fear generated by arbitrariness. We are forced to conclude one of two things: either the state was actually not nearly as wonderful, efficient, or polite as B. thinks, or it was in equal measure violence and smiles (cf. 284). Both propositions are scary in their own way (though I suspect that the former is a more accurate description of the situation); neither merits the praise of historians.

There is no ambivalence here, no murkiness. In B.’s account state power is almost always a positive thing, a thin blue line, as it were, distinguishing those needing protection from those deserving violence. One example will suffice: in his conclusion to chapter 3, B. seeks to explain why a broad range of “civil” officials were often found helping *phylakitai*. Rather than posit that police power functioned according to a diffuse system ill-described by the contemporary analytical language of jurisdiction, he suggests instead that the Ptolemies understood the “advantages inherent” in using “a vast array of government employees” (158). Leave aside the presumption that more bureaucrats equates to better administrative outcomes. The bigger problem with this understanding of state power is that these assumptions lead to circularity. Presumptions about the effectiveness of state institutions are assumed and then demonstrated. Officials who act violently are always exceptions to some rule, which allows B. to advance the conclusion that officials were “surprisingly”

effective (e.g., 32, 214, 280; cf. 59). The Ptolemies letting the *phylakitai* act autonomously reflects sound planning rather than disinterest in the detailed operation of fiscal or law-enforcement machinery; local initiative is therefore praiseworthy. Because people are in prison, they are labeled as offenders; because they are offenders, their accounts of official malfeasance cannot be trusted. State officials are assumed to act in good-faith, then slapped on the back for making gutsy decisions. Locally powerful officials live in fear of censure from Alexandria, because the Ptolemies periodically wagged a finger at local misconduct. Documents are assumed to reflect both normal and *normative* practice (as if the tendency in official documentation is not to try to cover over irregularity);⁷ anything deviating from this normative understanding of police power is dismissed as exceptional.

At the end of the day, the evidence presented this book still remains basically compatible with the arguments that B. seeks to challenge – namely, historical interpretations that describe ancient states as being composed of networks of individuals bound together through primarily informal relationships, located in a world where discrete jurisdictions mattered less than the areas over which one could expect to be obeyed with some degree of regularity; with, that is, a world resembling the “natural states” described by North, Wallis, and Weingast, in which locally powerful actors agree to forego violence against the central state in exchange for benefits, formal legitimacy, or at least autonomy.⁸ That a skein of bureaucratic language has been stretched across these relationships of power is nevertheless interesting, and demands that the relationship between these modes of formal and informal power be better understood, rather than replaced with an account that reads official sources in a manner that denies the significance of the latter. What is more, future work will have to address with greater precision, and a more sophisticated analytical repertoire, the relationship between the claims that states made and the ways in which those claims were translated into relationships, rhetoric, and daily life by “police” who were both subjects of law and the primary enforcers of it.

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⁷ Helpful comparanda can be accessed at <http://www.innocenceproject.org>.

⁸ D.C. North, J.J. Wallis, and B.R. Weingast, *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History* (Cambridge 2009).

Philippa Lang, *Medicine and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Studies in Ancient Medicine 41. Leiden: Brill, 2013. xii + 318 pages. ISBN 978-90-04-21858-1.

Philippa Lang (henceforth L.) has produced a stimulating synthesis of materials from various Greek and Egyptian sources to construct working models of “Greek” and “Egyptian” medical practices in Alexandria and in the Ptolemaic *chora*. At the heart of the study are the questions: to what extent did Greek and Egyptian medical practice interact? To what extent could Egyptian medicine have influenced Greek medicine at a theoretical and practical level, and to what extent did Greeks resident in Egypt in the Ptolemaic period avail themselves of Egyptian medical treatments? She arrives at the unsurprising answer that Greek city-dwellers in particular had access to a greater range of medical practitioners than those in the *chora* and would have preferred Greek over Egyptian doctors. Evidence adduced from papyri suggests somewhat greater cross-cultural interactions in the *chora*, especially when therapies involved drugs, oracular responses to dreams, and temple incubation. The work is avowedly synthetic – L. has, for the most part, read the available studies on Greek and Egyptian medicine and consulted the published editions of medical texts. She attempts to offer an even-handed discussion, but she is a Hellenist and usually prefers arguments by scholars of Greek culture over arguments by scholars of Egyptian culture.

Chapter 1 (“Greeks and Egyptians”) begins with the important statement: “Illness is a socio-cultural concept.” That is, individual cultures may vary in where they place the dividing line between sickness and health. Illness is to be distinguished from disease, caused by pathogens, or the effects of trauma, such as wounds and fractures. In this chapter L. reviews the evidence for population density in Ptolemaic Egypt, immigration (especially Greek), settlement patterns, ecology, and the regionally specific flora and fauna (particularly snakes and scorpions) that affected the health of those who resided there. She then summarizes Egypt’s self-constructed image of eternal sameness, how this stereotype is reproduced in Greek writers like Herodotus and Plato, and how it has influenced the understanding of Egyptian medical practices.

Chapter 2 (“Medicine and the Gods”) addresses the similarities and differences between Greek and Egyptian healing cults, particularly those engaged in dreaming and incubation as forms of therapy. This well-balanced and thoughtful survey is the best part of the book. L. provides substantial evidence that temple incubation was more likely to have been a Greek practice, which was widespread outside of Egypt, and that it is most clearly associated in Egypt with

sanctuaries to Asclepius. In contrast, Egyptians had a long tradition of dream oracles and were more likely to consult oracles for health and other matters.

Chapter 3 (“Theoretical Perspectives”) considers the different ways in which medical texts written in Egyptian and Greek view sickness and health, whether a matter of external invasion (e.g., a spear or divine malevolence) or internal bodily mechanics, and how the codification of medical knowledge functioned in each culture. L. rightly dismisses the persistent and seductive labels of Egyptian medicine as irrational and Greek medicine as the beginning of rational scientific inquiry, pointing rather to their respective self-constructed images: Greek medicine employed the “rhetoric of disengagement and rival truths,” while Egyptians created a mirage of unchanging and unified knowledge, to which written texts contributed (132). She prefers to compare various theories of causation and treatment, demonstrating that the irrational or religious explanations for disease are not exclusive to Egyptian medical writings, but occur in Greek ones as well. In this chapter she takes on the question of whether there were medical schools of thought as early as the sixth century BCE, and whether Egyptian medical practices that must have been earlier could have influenced particularly the so-called Knidian School. Her conclusions are a series of well-argued *non liquets*.

Chapter 4 (“Responses to Illness”) observes that Greek and Egyptian medical practice proceeds along similar lines of diagnosis, prognosis, and therapy. The bulk of the chapter is taken up with discussion of drug therapies – their theoretical frameworks (e.g., purgation), what was available, and how drugs were used. L. provides a fascinating discussion of drug therapies across the cultural spectrum, the availability and willingness of doctors to intervene surgically (more a characteristic of Greek than Egyptian practice), and apotropaic therapies like amulets. She finds a few instances of cross-fertilization in medical practices, but is agnostic about the extent to which Egyptian plants or remedies that appear in Greek medical material result from a genuine exchange of ideas or from the Greek doctors and folk healers adapting to local availability.

Chapter 5 (“Identifying Medical Practitioners”) takes up the institutionalization of medical practice in Ptolemaic Egypt, including the availability of doctors, medical hierarchies, and the purpose and duration of the *iatrikon* (“medical tax”). Given the nature of the evidence – official texts such as tax registers, temple records, and private letters – it is not surprising that doctors appear to be part of the temple or administrative hierarchies, and that urban dwellers (especially Greeks) were more likely to find practitioners than villagers, who often relied on folk healers.

Chapter 6 (“Medicine in Alexandria”) is a fine summary of the place of experimental medicine, especially dissection, within the newly founded city

of the Ptolemies and the limited impact of Herophilus and his followers on subsequent medical practice. L. concludes that the theoretical and experimental circles of Herophilus and Erasistratus' medicine were an "expression of Greek identity" through "an exclusive performance of *paideia*" (266), and thus sits entirely outside of Egyptian medical practice. She also concludes that the abandonment of dissection among later generations had more to do with the disputatious nature of doctors who adhered to one or another of the schools from which they derived their theories of health than with repugnance at the practice of vivisection.

On the whole this is a fair summary of what we can know about medical activity of Greek doctors in Ptolemaic Egypt and the potential areas of contact with Egyptian practice. However, although L. tries to set out well-balanced arguments, her conclusions are not unproblematic. I will give two examples. First, she claims that for the entire two-thousand year Pharaonic period there are only about 150 doctors attested in contrast to the 150 *iatroi* listed under Greek rule (220 and n. 60), this in a context that implies a far greater medical activity among the Greeks. Though not footnoted, L.'s number for Pharaonic Egypt probably comes from Robert Ritner (116), who, on the contrary, uses it to illustrate not the paucity of physicians, but the paucity of evidence for Egyptian medical practice. The incommensurate nature of the evidence is further indicated by Ritner's comment that "only some fourteen medical papyri survive in relatively intact condition, representing a time span of over two millennia."¹ Yet for Greek medicine L. has recourse to the Hippocratic corpus as well as Galen. It is not surprising, then, that Greek medical practice seems more robust and theoretically sophisticated.

Second, Demotic material from Egypt is so under-represented among extant published Ptolemaic papyri that L. must turn to a much earlier period, to Deir-el-Medina, an Upper Egyptian village of those who worked in the Valley of the Kings (ca. 1500-1100 BCE), for information about types of doctors, how they practiced, and how locals found medical assistance. This is unsatisfactory, because Deir-el-Medina is likely to be atypical, but also because it *de facto* reifies the notion that Egyptian medical traditions are static. Despite these not unproblematic points, this is a very useful book, especially for its cultural positioning of disease and treatment.

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¹ R. Ritner, "Innovations and Adaptations in Ancient Egyptian Medicine," *JNES* 59 (2000) 108.

Sabine R. Huebner, *The Family in Roman Egypt: A Comparative Approach to Intergenerational Solidarity and Conflict*. Cambridge University Press, 2013. xi + 262 pages. ISBN 978-1-107-01113-7.

In this monograph, Huebner (hereafter H.) sets out to study the structure of middle class families in Roman Egypt. The study investigates household composition, the interaction of the generations that composed such households, the situation of potentially vulnerable women, that is, widows and daughters-in-law, and the care of the elderly. H.'s investigation uses both papyri, in particular census returns, and comparative models from the broader ancient Mediterranean and other preindustrial, patriarchal societies. In many ways, this book addresses many of the points raised earlier in H.'s seminal article on brother-sister marriage in Roman Egypt and employs similar methodologies.¹ Here H. reminds us that it would be more accurate to refer to "Egypt in the Roman period" rather than "Roman Egypt," a phrase that implies that Rome is both the ruler and the model for all social and economic systems. This study determines that the patterns of household composition and inheritance during the Roman period closely follow those of the pharaonic period, not those of the Greeks or Romans. Only after the universal grant of Roman citizenship in 212 CE did Roman practice and law begin to have an influence in this sphere.

H. suggests that a multiple-family household was the preferred type of living arrangement, particularly among those families whose livelihood was dependent on agriculture. Such families were patrilocal and headed by the oldest male. Several married sons might maintain a common household after the death of their parents, which shows that there was an economic advantage to this arrangement: one commonly owned farm would be able to sustain the whole family, whereas if the same land were divided among smaller family units, each plot might not support the family depending on it.

H. finds a general expectation that the generations of a family care for each other's needs. Parents feed and clothe their children and prepare them for adulthood. In turn, children are expected to care for their parents when they are no longer economically active. Families in Roman Egypt display a high fertility rate. H. believes that, in these families, children were seen not so much as potential agricultural workers, since it cost a great deal to support and raise them, but as a guarantee that some would survive to adulthood and care for the parents in their old age. There is ample evidence that intergenerational interdependence was expected and valued, because when factors kept a child

¹ Sabine Huebner, "Brother-Sister Marriages in Roman Egypt: A Curiosity of Human-kind or a Widespread Family Strategy?" *JRS* 97 (2007) 21-49.

from supporting their elderly parent, there could be social and economic repercussions, such as community disapproval or disinheritance.

Widows are disadvantaged in such households, as property is owned and controlled by the men in the family (their father-in-law, brothers-in-law, or sons). If a widow had usufruct from the property of her children, she would be able to remain in the household. It was therefore to a woman's advantage to have as many sons as possible and to maintain a loving and supportive relationship with them so as to ensure her own well being, especially if she was widowed at a young age.

Families who did not have children, or only had daughters, had other options for ensuring stability in their old age. Some families adopted one or more sons. Others were incorporated into the household of a more distant relative, who then took on the responsibility of caring for them in their old age. In families with daughters H. believes that a viable choice was to adopt a son and then marry him to a daughter (so-called "brother-sister marriage"), which would at the same time keep property within the family and provide the parents with a younger generation to care for them. H. engages the critics of her theory on brother-sister marriage² here and in an article published after this monograph.³ One need not agree with H. on brother-sister marriage to find her analysis of other aspects of family life compelling.

H. has broadened our knowledge of family composition in Roman Egypt and the motivation behind it with this study. The evidence, of course, is fragmentary, sparse, and often anecdotal, but the support of evidence from other cultures bolsters her assumptions and draws a more complete picture than can be done on the basis of papyri alone. Conversely, although the book focuses on a particular social group in a narrow period of time, in a broader sense it adds to our knowledge of the support of the elderly and composition of households in pre-industrial Mediterranean societies. H. spends enough time on the nature of the sources and their reliability to make the book accessible to non-papyrologists with an interest in family history, but also fully engages the texts in a way that will satisfy a papyrologist.

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² S. Remijsen and W. Clarysse, "Incest or Adoption? Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt Revisited," *JRS* 98 (2008) 53-61; J. Rowlandson and R. Takahashi, "Brother-Sister Marriage and Inheritance Strategies in Greco-Roman Egypt," *JRS* 99 (2009) 104-139.

³ S. Huebner, "Adoption and Fosterage in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean," in J. Evans Grubbs and T. Parkin (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World* (Oxford 2013) 510-531.

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